Using Rhetorical Structure Theory for contrastive analysis at the micro and macro levels of discourse

An investigation of Japanese EFL learners' and native-English speakers' writing

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ABSTRACT

Contrastive studies between the languages of English and Japanese make up a field of research that have offered substantial contributions to our understanding of L2 writing. Ranging from the objective, quantifiable measurements of error analysis, to the more interpretive observations of discourse analysis, these studies have identified a number of features at both the micro and macro levels of Japanese L2 writing. Theoretically, however, contrastive studies in this field have tended to make assumptions about language and culture that, while oftentimes reasonable, simply have not been substantiated through empirical evidence, making their findings, which were based on those assumptions, questionable at best. Moreover, these studies have chosen to look at either local or global errors but have not effectively considered how the two are interwoven and thus have yet to satisfactorily answer the question: "Why is the English writing of Japanese oftentimes experienced as 'illogical' and 'incoherent' by native-English speakers (NESs) beyond grammatical errors and idiomaticity?"

To effectively answer such a question, the desire to know why or from where certain errors occur must be sidestepped, and the errors themselves and how they are affecting learners' writing should be made the focus. This can only be done, however, through a different theoretical perspective—a perspective concerned with basic communication principles. It is then through this lens that the combination of quantifiable measurements and interpretive observations of anomalies at both the micro and macro levels of discourse can be effectively analyzed.

To this end, this study positioned itself in Clark's Common Ground theory, a well-established and accepted theory of basic communication principles, as its theoretical framework, and adopted Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST), an analytical framework that can effectively identify coherence features at the micro and macro levels of discourse in tandem with one another.

As for the data set, a random selection of 400 English texts by Japanese and native-English writers from the International Corpus Network of Asian Learners of English was used. A set of predetermined parameters was applied to this set of texts to achieve a balanced data set, which resulted in two corpora: a Japanese English-as-a-foreign-language learners' corpus (JEFL, N = 22), and a native-English speakers' corpus (NES, N = 22). Texts in each corpus were parsed into elementary discourse units (EDUs) using the Syntactic and Lexical-based Discourse Segmenter (SLSeg). Those EDUs were then analyzed with the RST framework. Composite discourse

segments (consisting of more than one EDU) were established, the relations between the segments were determined, and the frequency of the relations was tabulated. Yule's difference coefficient was applied to assess the difference in the relative frequency of a relation in the two corpora. Wilcoxon signed-rank tests were applied to determine if there was a statistical significance between the two corpora's relation frequencies. The results showed several differences between the two corpora.

The most discernible quantitative difference observed was that Subject Matter (SM) relations, which are concerned with ideation and/or content (as opposed to the more rhetorical in nature Presentational relations), were used less frequently by the JEFLs ($p = 0.047$) than by the NESs. This underuse is interpreted as a symptom of a deeper problem, namely, cognitive overload, leading to a relatively low degree of elaboration of the actual topic of the texts. This assertion is furthered by the qualitative observations made on two other types of phenomena: a number of relations that were precisely used more frequently by the JEFLs, which often weakened the coherence of the texts, and dangling units/cross dependencies. Lastly, a closer look at the individual relations themselves found that the JEFL writers regularly struggled to match the content of a nucleus with its function, producing what I have termed "artificial nuclei" in the structure of texts. Together these anomalies result in a violation of basic communication principles that could plausibly account for Japanese English writing often being regarded as incoherent and illogical. However, there is no basis for the general, sweeping claim that such errors are caused or a result of linguistic and cultural transfer/interference. Rather, the anomalies observed in the JEFL corpus may be diagnosed as comparable, if not identical, to those produced by inexperienced writers. Thus, it would be advisable for English writing instructors to consider Japanese learners as novice writers and teach from this position rather than a view that the L1 is the source of any observed errors, at least as far as errors in coherence are concerned.

SAMENVATTING

Contrastief taalonderzoek naar het Engels en het Japans heeft substantiële bijdragen geleverd aan ons begrip van het schrijven in een tweede taal (T2). Dit onderzoek heeft verschillende kenmerken op zowel micro als macro-niveau van T2-teksten van sprekers van het Japans geïdentificeerd, uiteenlopend van objectieve, kwantificeerbare metingen op basis van foutenanalyse, tot meer interpretatieve observaties op basis van tekstanalyse. Wat theorievorming betreft vertonen deze onderzoekingen echter de neiging om uit te gaan van bepaalde aannames over taal en cultuur, die, hoewel vaak niet onredelijk, eenvoudigweg niet stevig gefundeerd zijn in empirische evidentie, hetgeen de uitkomsten ervan -die immers op die aannames gebaseerd zijn- op zijn minst twijfelachtig maakt. Bovendien hebben deze onderzoekingen tot dusver aandacht besteed aan hetzij lokale, hetzij globale fouten, maar niet echt aan de vraag hoe die met elkaar samenhangen; daardoor hebben we ook nog steeds geen bevredigend antwoord op de vraag: "Waarom wekken Engelstalige teksten van Japanners vaak de indruk van 'gebrek aan logica' en 'gebrek aan samenhang' bij 'native speakers' van het Engels (los van grammaticale en idiomatische fouten)?"

Om zo'n vraag te kunnen beantwoorden is het nodig om in eerste instantie de vraag waarom of waardoor bepaalde fouten gemaakt worden, te laten rusten en de fouten als zodanig, en de manier waarop ze de schrijfproducten van T2-leerders beïnvloeden, centraal te stellen. Dit kan echter alleen maar bereikt worden met een ander theoretisch perspectief, een perspectief dat uitgaat van de basisprincipes van communicatie. Met deze 'bril' kan de samenhang van kwantificeerbare metingen en interpretatieve observaties van anomalieën op zowel micro als macro-niveau effectief geanalyseerd worden.

Met het oog hierop hanteert het onderhavige onderzoek als theoretisch kader de 'Common Ground'-theorie van H.H. Clark, een goed gefundeerde en algemeen geaccepteerde theorie over de basisbeginselen van communicatie. Tevens gebruiken we 'Rhetorical Structure Theory' (RST) als analytisch kader waarmee coherentierelaties op micro en macro-niveaus van tekststructuur in onderlinge samenhang in kaart gebracht kunnen worden.

Voor de empirische gegevens is een willekeurige selectie van 400 Engelstalige teksten van Japanners en van 'native speakers' van het Engels uit het International Corpus Network of Asian Learners of English gebruikt. Om tot een uitgebalanceerde verzameling gegevens te komen, werden vooraf vastgestelde parameters op deze

teksten toegepast, hetgeen resulteerde in twee corpora: één corpus (JEFL, N=22) van teksten in Engels-als-vreemde-taal van Japanners, en één (NES, N=22) van teksten van 'native English speakers'. De teksten in beide corpora werden opgedeeld in elementaire teksteenheden ("elementary discourse units", EDU's) met behulp van de "Syntactic and Lexical-based Discourse Segmenter" (SLSeg). De EDU's zijn vervolgens geanalyseerd met gebruik van het RST-instrumentarium. Samengestelde tekstsegmenten, bestaande uit meer dan één EDU, werden afgebakend, de relaties tussen de tekstsegmenten werden bepaald, en de frequentie van die relaties werd vastgesteld. Om het verschil in de relatieve frequenties van een relatie in de twee corpora te bepalen, hebben we Yule's coefficiënt toegepast; om te bepalen of er een statistisch significant verschil bestaat tussen de frequenties van relaties in de twee corpora hebben we de rangtekentoets van Wilcoxon gebruikt. De resultaten laten een aantal verschillen tussen de corpora zien.

Het duidelijkst waarneembare verschil was dat 'Subject Matter'-relaties (SM), d.w.z. relaties die betrekking hebben op de concepten en/of zakelijke inhoud van de segmenten (in tegenstelling tot de 'Presentational' relaties, die meer retorisch van aard zijn), significant minder vaak gebruikt werden in het JEFL-corpus (p=0,047) dan in het NES-corpus. Dit geringe gebruik wordt hier geïnterpreteerd als een symptoom van een dieper probleem, nl. cognitieve overbelasting, leidend tot een beperkte uitwerking van het eigenlijke onderwerp van de teksten. Deze claim wordt nader ondersteund door kwalitatieve observaties aan twee andere soorten verschijnselen: sommige relaties die juist frequenter door de JEFLs gebruikt werden en die de coherentie van de teksten zwakker maakten, en 'hangende' eenheden/kruisende afhankelijkheden. Tot slot bleek dat de JEFL-schrijvers regelmatig moeite hadden om de inhoud van een nucleus te laten 'kloppen' met de functie van de nucleus, wat zich manifesteert in "kunstmatige nuclei" in de structuur van een tekst. Samen zorgen deze anomalieën ervoor dat fundamentele principes van communicatie geschonden worden, waarmee op een plausibele manier verantwoord kan worden dat Engelstalige teksten van Japanners vaak als incoherent en onlogisch worden ervaren.

Er is echter geen basis voor de algemene, apodictische uitspraak dat zulke fouten veroorzaakt worden door of het resultaat zijn van linguïstische transfer en interferentie Eerder moet de diagnose zijn dat de anomalieën die we in het JEFL-corpus zien, te vergelijken zijn, wellicht zelfs van hetzelfde soort zijn, als fouten die gemaakt worden door onervaren schrijvers. Zo bezien is het aan te raden dat Engelse taaldocenten de Japanse leerders vooral zien als beginnende schrijvers en hun onderwijs dienovereenkomstig inrichten, en de opvatting laten varen dat de T1 de bron is van de waargenomen fouten, althans die op het vlak van coherentie.

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To my wife, Hiromi,
who spent many, many late nights and weekends alone with our kids;
and to my children, Naomi and Kai,
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Thank you for your patience, love, and support
that helped to see me through to the end.

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Introduction

> Everywhere on signs and hangings, and on the backs of people passing by, [I] . . . observe wonderful Chinese characters; and the wizardry of all these texts makes the dominant tone of the spectacle . . . As for the literary language, I need only observe that to make acquaintance with it requires very much more than a knowledge of several thousand Chinese characters.
>
> -- *Lafcadio Hearn*

Hearn's first impressions of Japan resonate strongly with my own. When I first set foot in Japan, everything was very different, so peculiar. The flashing neon signs, the scurrying crowds of bobbing black-haired heads, the blended smells of modern city and traditional cuisine, but, perhaps what I found most difficult to comprehend was the spoken and seemingly indecipherable written language that was all around me. As I began to formally study the language, I quickly realized I would need more than a repertoire of vocabulary and knowledge of Japanese grammar to become proficient. There was something else—something that made the Japanese language alien to me—, and I needed to make sense of it.

I quickly took notice of a predisposition among Japanese to use passive over direct verb forms, which often caused difficulties for me as I could not identify the subject; I saw a preference to identify oneself as part of a group or organization[1], which went against everything I learned growing up in the individualistic society of the United States; I noticed how Japanese often showed greater appreciation for beauty and tradition than practical function, which frustrated me to no end when I saw a much more practical way of accomplishing a particular task; and, even as I began to understand the words that were being spoken around me and to read the strange characters on billboards, pamphlets, and pre-packaged foods, I still found myself regularly misinterpreting the intended meaning. Things always felt vague and unclear to me. I was left wondering how anyone in this country ever had a

1 Japanese tend to introduce themselves by their family name first, e.g., I am Brown Jonathan. They also identify the company, organization, or school to which they belong, such as, "I am Leiden University's Brown Jonathan.

successful communicative interaction with another. One experience in particular left a profound impression on me and awakened me to the intricacies and possible perils of language across cultures.

After graduating university, I took a position teaching English in Japan at local public elementary schools. In addition to my teaching duties, I also acted as a cultural liaison and translator and was often asked to translate short letters and documents from Japanese into English. It was in this capacity in which I learned how cultural values and conventions can be reflected differently across languages. I remember one case in particular in which the superintendent had written a letter to our city's sister city in the United States in order to cancel a student exchange that was to take place over the spring (there had been an outbreak of swine flu across the Midwestern regions of the United States, and the superintendent was being cautious).

In the letter, he opened with a very poetic and convoluted description of the arrival of spring in Japan. He described the cherry blossoms, the sweet, spring breeze coming off the surrounding mountains, the crystal blue skies, the aroma of blooming flowers, and the sound of buzzing bees and singing birds, after which he suddenly began expressing his concern about the swine flu pandemic and, seemingly out of nowhere apologized and requested that the scheduled visit for that year be cancelled. I immediately realized that such a letter would probably not be well received. Essentially, what the superintendent would appear to be saying was: "It is so beautiful here, but you won't get to see it." I felt this would come across as extremely tactless in English; however, I knew that in Japan such a salutation in letter writing is quite common. I had to sit down with the superintendent and explain to him how his letter might be misread should I translate it as he had written. After some time, he agreed to let me write a letter on my own that better conformed to the conventions and expectations of a member of an (USA) English language community. This was probably my first real-life experience where I saw how cultural expectations do not necessarily translate well and can, in fact, be misinterpreted. This opened my eyes to the differences of languages beyond language. I began to better understand that communication is a much more complicated phenomenon than memorizing a list of vocabulary or familiarizing one's self with grammatical structures.

I did not fully appreciate the implications of my observations until I entered a graduate school program, however. Through my studies and teaching at that time[2] I began to notice a stark contrast between the direct and individualistic styles and strategies in which I had been educated and the more indirect and collectivistic ones I observed in my Japanese students of English. It was from this point I began to try to explain these differences through my observations of the culture and language in an attempt to improve the quality of my instruction and thereby improve my students' language skills, specifically in writing. The following contrastive study will be my most substantial attempt thus far at doing just that.

Contrastive studies between the languages of English and Japanese make up a field of research that has offered substantial contributions to our understanding of L2 writing (see Achiba & Kuromiya, 1983; Hinds, 1983, 1990; Hirose & Sasaki, 1994; Kobayashi, 1984; Rinnert & Kobayashi, 2001; Kubota, 1997; Miyake, 2007; Takagaki, 2001, 2003). Despite the insight they have provided, none thus far have been extensive enough to offer more than suggestive implications. These studies range from the objective, quantifiable measurements of sentence-level features, to the more interpretive observations of discourse analysis, yet few really provide empirical, quantifiable evidence that could be used to practically address the needs of Japanese EFL learners in the writing classroom. What needs to be done, therefore, is research that combines quantifiable measurements with interpretive observations. This contrastive study is a first step towards such an investigation. This introductory chapter will begin with the problem and its scope. Then the research question around which this study was designed and the rationale for the study will be put forward. This will be followed by a brief discussion of the purpose and significance of the study. The chapter will conclude with an overview of the dissertation.

The Problem & Its Scope

The difficulties English-language learners face in mastering the complex conventions of English writing have long been recognized by scholars, instructors, and students alike. Traditionally, L2 pedagogy focused on grammar and borrowed from L1 writing theory. The problem here was twofold. First, students were generally not given opportunity to apply the structure they were learning outside of translation exercises. This meant language learners were only reconstructing

2 I had just begun an adjunct position at a local university where I was teaching English academic writing to Japanese undergraduate students.

texts rather than constructing originals. The other issue was the fact that very little L1 writing theory existed at the time. The general belief was that writing talent is innate—not something that can be taught. Over the years, however, research began to suggest it is not so much the grammar with which language learners struggle but the "hidden, unarticulated values" (Li, 2014, p. 105) that are all too often taken for granted in the writing classroom. With this postulation in hand, Robert B. Kaplan began to look beyond the level of grammar to the level of discourse in an effort to expose these "hidden, unarticulated values."

In his seminal 1966 study, Kaplan proposed that culture plays a significant role on how discourse is constructed and attributed cultural differences to why apparent divergences occur between non-native English speakers' writing, particularly speakers of languages with rhetorical traditions other than Anglo-American, and native English speakers' writing. Though this might seem rather obvious today, Kaplan's observation was to have an immeasurable impact on L2 writing pedagogy (Hinkel, 2002). Furthermore, Kaplan fostered an awareness of and interest in rhetorical frameworks outside of Western cultures and languages, ushering in a new field of study in applied linguistics called contrastive rhetoric (CR).

Since Kaplan's work, studies in discourse and rhetoric across different cultures have looked at discourse paradigms and textual features employed in L2 writing of native speakers from a variety of backgrounds, such as Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, Finnish, German, Japanese, Korean, Spanish, among others. Much insight about L2 writing has been gained as a result, and it is now clear that the quality of L2 writing differs compared to the writing of NESs in two distinct ways: structural and linguistic (Weigle, 2002). Unsurprisingly, then, the objective of most contrastive studies is to identify differences in linguistic features (micro-level) and/or rhetorical/organizational patterns (macro-level) that could account for differences between the writings of L2 learners and NESs. To this end, contrastive studies have employed a variety of analytical techniques, and studies comparing Japanese and English are no exception.

Many contrastive studies between Japanese and English have been more objective in nature, applying quantitative approaches, such as error analysis at the micro-level, i.e., linguistic features to identify phenomena that differ from that of NESs (see Achiba & Kuromiya, 1983; Bryant, 1984; Hinkel, 2001; Hirose, 2014; Hirose & Sasaki, 1994; Ito, 2004; Moriya, 1997). Other studies, however, have applied more subjective approaches that have focused on rhetorical and organizational patterns (see Easton, 1982; Haenouchi & Ichinose, 2010; Hirose, 2003; Miyake, 2007; Nishigaki & Leishman, 2001; Takagaki, 2003). Together these studies make up a field of research that has

offered substantial contributions to our understanding of Japanese and English discourse as well as L2 writing in general. Unfortunately, despite the insight these studies have provided, we are still left with many unanswered questions. Today, Japanese EFL learners (JEFLs) seem no closer to grasping the intricacies of English writing than they were at the inception of contrastive rhetoric. Disputes among scholars and discrepancies across the literature have negatively influenced the field's progress. Essentially, the only consensus that seems to have been achieved is that the English writing of Japanese L1 speakers is "illogical" and "ambiguous" or perhaps more accurately, incoherent, relative to that of native-English speakers' (NESs') writing (see Achiba & Kuromiya, 1983; Atkinson, 1997; Connor, 2005; Davies, 1998; Easton, 1982; Harder & Harder, 1982; Hinds, 1976, 1980, 1983a, 1983b, 1987, 1990; Kunihiro, 1976; Nishigaki & Leishman, 2001; Nishihara, 1990; Oi, 1986; Oi & Kamimura, 1998; O'Riordan, 1999).

Beyond this very immense and rather broad characterization of Japanese English writing, no study, as far as I am aware, has pinpointed exactly why Japanese struggle to create coherent texts in English. Thus, as is the case with most contrastive rhetorical studies, this project is firstly motivated by a pedagogical need. JEFLs need the conventions of English writing explicated so that they can successfully meet the rhetorical expectations of NESs, as there clearly remains "hidden" and "unarticulated" values with which these learners continue to struggle, which I believe is due to the fact that they are simply unaware of those expectations.

Likewise, it seems teachers themselves have not been able to successfully identify what exactly is causing JEFL writers' English writing to be incoherent. Attempts to explain this have resulted in concerns at the macro-level, with emphasis on organizational patterns of students' texts. It is almost a certainty that if one were to pick up any EFL/ESL textbook on English writing today, a large portion of that textbook would be focused on the basic organization of an essay, covering elements like thesis statement, supporting body, and conclusion. Many of these textbooks also add sections about syntax and grammatical structures for good measure. Most textbooks usually spend a significant amount of time on cohesive devices as well, but this emphasis on cohesive devices has also attributed to errors in JEFL writing (see Hinkel, 2001, for example). The result is textbooks and EFL writing courses that provide information about writing at the macro-level and at the micro-level, but rarely do they demonstrate how the two work together to create a cohesive and coherent whole. This, unfortunately, seems to be a reflection on the state of research in this area rather than on the instructors who are teaching from these books or the authors and publishers who are producing them.

It appears that scholars, teachers, and students alike still remain unsure about what needs to be done. Due to past contrastive studies, teachers tend to look to the student's L1 and/or culture and then, in response, push the one-size-fits-all, template-style essay organizational patterns. Still, students continue to struggle and although their texts may (on the surface at least) begin to appear to be more "native-like," something remains "awkward"—something that the teacher cannot quite ascertain. So, then there is a turn toward grammar and syntactic structure, yet still the "non-nativeness" in Japanese L2 writers' English texts lingers. It is thus not enough to simply identify differences and postulate origins of those differences. Rather, research should attempt to pinpoint the specific conventions JEFLs need explicated so that writing instructors can effectively help these learners overcome their weaknesses. In fact, it is vital that the fixation on the origin of errors that is so prevalent in contrastive rhetorical studies is sidestepped and the errors themselves become the focal point.

Research Questions

What needs to be done, therefore, is research that combines quantifiable measurements with interpretive observations of anomalies at both the micro- and macro-levels. These anomalies must be considered in tandem with one another, not as separate entities, in order to plausibly account for what is causing JEFL writing to be experienced as "illogical" and "ambiguous" by NESs beyond generalizations of Japanese rhetoric and errors in cohesion. Accordingly, this type of rhetorical analysis demands a different approach that can look at both local and global features and offer quantifiable data to substantiate its results. This study, therefore, adopts the Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST; Mann & Thompson, 1988) framework for contrastive purposes (to be briefly discussed momentarily and in greater detail in Chapter 3) and applies it to a corpus of JEFL English texts and NESs' texts in an attempt to answer the following research question:

- Why does JEFL English writing often times not meet the rhetorical expectations of English and is regularly regarded as "illogical," "ambiguous," and "incoherent" by NESs beyond general organizational/rhetorical patterns, grammatical correctness, or even idiomaticity?

In addition, this study will also briefly attempt to address an auxiliary question:

- Are there any similarities between Japanese writing and Japanese English writing that differ from NESs' writing and point to a distinct predisposition among Japanese for certain rhetorical patterns that do not adhere to the rhetorical expectations of English?

Purpose & Significance of Study

Pedagogical

The chief purpose of this study is, of course, to shed some light on exactly what conventions JEFLs are missing that are causing their writing to be perceived as incoherent, and the timing for such a study is without a doubt ideal as the demand for improved instruction in the English writing classroom in Japan has never been so great.

From 2004, the Japanese Ministry of Education (MEXT) initialized comprehensive education reform. These changes have been felt in all areas of education, but, in particular, English has seen vast amendments. Japan now seeks to produce citizens who can perform on the global academic stage. As a result of this reformation, the country is experiencing an influx, particularly in higher education, of English programs and curriculum concerned with developing learners' academic skills to the global standard, with one of the more important skills being writing. Programs are developing with the goal of yielding graduates with highly competent English academic skills. Because of this, there is now a demand for research that reveals the best pedagogical approaches for bringing Japanese EFL learners to the necessary level of literacy competence to succeed academically in English. Consequently, there is a need to not only understand how to teach these students but what to teach them to get them to this level. I hope that this study will help to provide some insight to bring Japanese to the global standards and expectations with regard to English writing.

Methodological

In addition to the main purpose, i.e., pedagogical, this study has several underlying distinctions, the first of which is methodological.

As previously mentioned, the majority of contrastive studies between Japanese and English have been an either-or dichotomy—either they were concerned with errors at the macro-level or they were concerned with errors at the micro-level. One likely reason for that are the limited methods available for contrastive purposes. Quantitative studies have been forced to deal solely with local errors, while qualitative studies have been, arguably, overly subjective in nature. Those that were both quantitative and qualitative tended to consider the two mutually exclusive, that is, qualitative results and quantitative results were not generally considered in conjunction with one another (e.g., Achiba & Kuromiya, 1983; Haenouchi & Ichinose, 2010; Hinkel, 2001; Kamimura & Oi, 1998).

Furthermore, the vast majority of contrastive studies between Japanese English writing and NESs' writing are not exploratory—they had a set of predetermined features that they were investigating, such as Connor's (1984) or Narita, Sato, and Sugiura's (2004) investigations of the use of logical connectors in transitions, Achiba and Kuromiya's (1983) study that looked at hedging, as well as other features, in texts, and Oi (1986) who focused on the global organizational patterns of Japanese L2 writers' English texts. In other words, these studies entered the forest with a map of marked locations and sought the best way to get L2 learners to those locations. However, the investigated features in these studies were usually identified through previous literature and have long been recognized as problem areas for EFL/ESL learners, so they really contributed little with regard to explicating hidden and unarticulated values of English writing or exposing conventions with which learners struggle.

While helping students get to where they need to be is, of course, the goal of all instructors, sometimes what is needed is to find out exactly where that destination is, and this is not always as simple as identifying routes. Sometimes it requires exploring and charting locations that have yet to be discovered. Therefore, what is needed is a study that can 1) investigate texts at both the micro- and macro-levels in conjunction with one another, 2) effectively combine quantifiable data with qualitative observations, and 3) reliably explore texts in search of anomalies that can plausibly explain coherence or lack thereof. This study will attempt to meet these needs through a quantitatively oriented rhetorical analysis that compares English expository texts written by JEFLs with those written by NESs within the framework of RST.

RST, first developed by Mann and Thompson (1988), is a descriptive linguistic approach that analyzes the organization of discourse. It offers a systematic way in which texts can be annotated. If the annotation involves an entire text, the analyst seeks an annotation that includes every part of that text in one connected whole (Taboada & Mann, 2006). The whole text is broken into smaller units and the way by which one unit is connected to another is by addition of a RST relation, which is defined in terms of four fields: 1) Constraints on the nucleus; 2) Constraints on the satellite; 3) Constraints on the combination of the nucleus and satellite; and 4) Effect (achieved on the text receiver) (Taboada & Mann, 2006).

One of the greatest advantages of RST is that it, as Taboada and Mann (2006) argue, ". . . points to a tight relation between relations and coherence in text, thus constituting a way of explaining coherence" (p. 6). In other words, RST offers a way

to articulate the unarticulated rules, to speak the unspoken values, and to reveal the hidden conventions with which learners of English struggle. Consequently, RST is exceedingly suited for the purposes and objectives of this study.

In recent years, a couple of scholars have applied RST in an effort to quantify observed anomalies in learners' texts for contrastive purposes with some success (see Skoufaki, 2009; Yamashita, 2015), but both of these investigations were preliminary and limited in their scope. I hope this study will expand upon Skoufaki's and Yamashita's works and provide future research with some guidance on how to effectively adopt RST for contrastive purposes and avoid any pitfalls of using RST that this current investigation may uncover.

Theoretical

In addition to pedagogical and methodological contributions, this study hopes to offer some theoretical advancement to the field.

Since its inception over half a century ago, contrastive rhetoric and its founder, Robert Kaplan (1966), have endured countless criticisms. The very mention of contrastive rhetoric today will most certainly guarantee vexation from skeptics ready with imputations of stereotyping, linguistic imperialism, and ethnocentric bias. Consequently, contrastive rhetoric has become somewhat of a dirty word in the fields of L2 writing, EFL/ESL, and second-language acquisition (SLA). This requires scholars who undertake contrastive work to tread cautiously in associating his/her research with what has been deemed by these critics as an ostracized theory. Yet even its most scornful opponents cannot ignore the fact that contrastive rhetoric has provided a great deal of insight into L2 writing and has contributed immensely to L2 writing pedagogy, as is evidenced by a more discipline-oriented approach that is most common in textbooks and classrooms today (Silva, 1990).

The majority of contrastive studies between Japanese and English have been quick to point to the L1 (i.e., Japanese) as the culprit for observed errors in rhetorical and organizational patterns (e.g., Connor, 2005; Doi, 1986; Hinds, 1980, 1983a, 1983b, 1987, 1990; Oi, 1986) as well as in grammatical and syntactic structures (e.g., Achiba & Kuromiya, 1983; Bryant, 1984; Hinkel, 2002). Others have specifically remarked on Japanese culture as a potential source for many of the issues identified in Japanese EFL writers' English writing, such as the Japanese preference to be "indirect" and "ambiguous" (see Davies, 1998; Harder, 1984; Rear, 2008) as well as culture-specific ideologies (e.g., Kamimura & Oi, 1998). All of these studies, however, have

one thing in common: they approach the data from the belief that the L1 and/or learner's culture is responsible for the errors and anomalies observed in his/her English writing.

This belief has long been criticized, as it is now generally accepted that writing is a social action performed within particular contexts (Fairclough, 1992). So while Kaplan's stance that there are conventions in English writing that are not overtly apparent to L2 writers seems reasonable, pointing the finger at culture is precarious territory. Culture is a complicated and even a problematic concept in research. For example, in her 1996 study, Li recognized she could not explain "good writing" on the basis of cultural differences because culture is simply too big. She explained that she had to "carve out a small slice from culture to be commensurate with the scope and focus of [her] project, narrowing it to a small culture" (p. 105). Like Li, there are numerous others who have taken into account culture in this way; however, it is also clear that culture is a difficult concept to precisely define, even when discussing "small cultures." Many critics attack studies that incorporate cultural elements, claiming they are weakened by stereotypes and bias and even redolent of English superiority over other languages and cultures (Pennycook, 2002). As a result numerous contrastive studies are seen as based on an erroneous theoretical assumption, which has made these studies' findings questionable at best.

So while it is difficult to ignore the contributions contrastive rhetoric has made to the field, many critics continue to disparage the notion for its apparent ideological and theoretical faults. This has resulted in the creation of several reimagined and/or redefined forms (see Connor, 1996; Kubota & Lehner, 2004; Matsuda, 1997). Rather than unnecessarily complicating matters and attempting to redefine or reinvent contrastive rhetoric, this study hopes to demonstrate that by establishing contrastive rhetoric in something much more rudimentary it is possible to remain neutral and avoid the theoretical and ideological pitfalls of which traditional contrastive rhetoric has been accused. To this end, this study establishes contrastive rhetoric within the theoretical framework of Common Ground (CG) theory (Clark, 1985).

A concept proposed by Clark (1985), CG theory refers to the shared knowledge, beliefs, and assumptions that are believed to be essential for successful communicative interaction. Clark argues that without mutuality it is not possible for two individuals to understand one another or have a meaningful interaction. Though other theories have proposed similar concepts, such as Hall's (1976) high-context culture and the contrasting low-context culture, CG avoids stereotyping large cultures, and in fact avoids the notion of culture all together, which clearly

makes it more attuned to objective factors. More importantly, however, CG helps to establish contrastive rhetoric in a less controversial position, namely, in basic communication principles. In doing so, this study should be able to 1) take the conversation back from ideology and the intricacies of culture that have led scholars away from the original purpose of contrastive rhetoric and prevented many from seeing the benefits and contributions it has to offer students, teachers, and researchers alike, by bringing focus to the actual texts and the anomalies therein and 2) vindicate contrastive rhetoric and show how, indeed, the notion is capable of deculturalizing and thereby avoiding the hazards of stereotyping, overgeneralizations, and other such trespasses that sound research should never entertain, let alone contribute to.

Practical

Finally, studies between Japanese English and NESs' English writing have dwindled in recent years. As a result, the information currently available regarding Japanese English writing is dated, oftentimes not well established in current research methodology, and, culpable of many of the failings discussed above. This study will help to revitalize the research being done in this area. Based on the results of this study, more up-to-date and reliable research implications and pedagogical recommendations can be made.

To sum up, this study is significant for the following reasons:

1. I am not aware of any valid contrastive studies, particularly concerned with Japanese and English, which have combined quantified data with qualitative observations to investigate texts at both the micro- and macro-levels. Thus, there is a pressing need for such a study, especially with regard to its pedagogical value.
2. This study is also valuable for research methodology, as it points to research design flaws in past studies and applies an analytical framework in a comprehensive study grounded in a reliable theoretical basis; this in an effort to rectify those past design flaws. As a result, this study provides empirical examination of the reliability and validity of RST for contrastive purposes.
3. As far as its theoretical contributions are concerned, this investigation attempts to establish a more comprehensive and less controversial theory of contrastive rhetoric and build upon the field by exposing and elucidating values of English writing that have remained hidden and ambiguous.

4. Additionally, this study aspires to defend contrastive rhetoric by conceptualizing it within Common Ground theory and demonstrating that the field can effectively purge itself of many of the assumptions of culture and language that have negatively influenced and undermined the results of past studies.

Overview of Dissertation

This dissertation consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 has introduced the topic of this research project, addressed the problem and its scope, and discussed the research questions, purpose, and significance of the study. The subsequent chapter reviews related literature, first introducing an overview of contrastive rhetoric, criticisms the notion has faced over the years, and then the contributions it has made. Next, the application of Common Ground theory to contrastive rhetoric and its theoretical importance to the field and this study are discussed. This is followed by an in-depth investigation of contrastive studies directly relevant to this particular study, specifically, research that has been concerned with Japanese and English, with the goal of showing the gaps and shortcomings of these past studies and how they have brought about the need for this study and generated the research questions on which it is based. Chapter 3 then moves on to present the methods used in this project. Participants, data collection, the analytical framework, and statistical test used in this study are presented in detail in this chapter followed by the quantitative results. Chapter 4 discusses at length the quantitative findings presented in Chapter 3, juxtaposed with qualitative observations. Chapter 4 also presents the findings of RST analysis of a Japanese text as a point of reference and compares that with the RST analytical results of the English texts written by JEFLs and NESs. Chapter 5 concludes the study with a recapitulation of the main findings and their implications from a pedagogical and theoretical standpoint. Limitations of the study are then discussed, concluding with suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2 | Literature Review

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the existing literature related to contrastive rhetoric. I begin with a discussion of contrastive rhetoric by examining its origin and addressing its criticisms. This is followed by a discussion of its contributions to the fields of L2 writing and rhetoric. I then move on to argue that, when considered in tandem with Clark's (1985) Common Ground (CG) theory, the cogency of viewing contrastive rhetoric as an approach concerned with communication becomes evident. More importantly, however, I see the juxtaposition of contrastive rhetoric with the theoretical framework of CG as the best way to ensure its full effectiveness.

Following the synopsis of contrastive rhetoric, I proceed to look at contrastive rhetorical studies from over the years that followed Kaplan's original study. According to Silva (1993), "L2 writing is strategically, rhetorically, and linguistically different in important ways" (p. 669), and, as a result, contrastive rhetorical studies have attempted to investigate all of these differences (see, for example, Beare & Bourdages, 2007; Bitchener & Bastukman, 2006; Crossley & McNamara, 2009; Ellis & Yuan, 2004; Kormos, 2011; Yang, Lu, & Weigle, 2015). A number of studies have shown clearly that the quality of L2 writing is assessed on, among other things, discourse structure and organization (Hinkel, 2002). As these studies make up an insurmountable portion of the literature, I maintain my focus on the studies that are most relevant to my particular study—contrastive studies between Japanese and English. Even this portion of the literature, however, is quite large and covers a wide spectrum of issues, including the composing process (see Brooks, 1985; Cumming, 1989; Raimes, 1987; Victori, 1999; Wang & Wen, 2002), feedback (see Ferris, 2002, 2003; Reid, 1994; Saito, 1994), instruction (see Baroudy, 2008; Chen, 2005; Hirose, 2014), and writer characteristics (see Hirose & Sasaki, 1994; Sasaki & Hirose, 1996; Sasaki, 2000; Victori, 1999). A large majority of contrastive studies between the languages of Japanese and English, however, has maintained its focus on the written text. As this particular study concerns itself solely with the written text and no other area, the literature discussed is limited to those with this primary focus.

After the examination of existing literature, I go on to discuss the findings and the contributions these studies have made to our understanding of the fields of Japanese discourse and L2 writing, which I believe to be nearly the entire body of literature on contrastive studies of Japanese and English written texts conducted to date. It should be noted that there are seemingly few recent studies conducted in this area. As will be shown, the majority are from the 1980s and 90s, with only a handful conducted within the last decade or so. This fact alone shows the need for more up-to-date research in this field.

Studies of Japanese writers' written texts have employed a variety of analytical techniques to investigate both linguistic and rhetorical features in their attempts to explain why Japanese English writing is often not as coherent as texts written by L1 English speakers (see Connor, 2005; Harder & Harder, 1982; Hinds, 1976; Nishihara, 1990; Rear, 2008; Yamashita, 2015). Several studies conducted have been more objective in nature by applying quantitative approaches, such as error analysis at the micro-level, i.e., linguistic features to identify linguistic phenomena that differ from that of L1 English speakers. Other studies, however, have applied more subjective approaches that have focused on rhetorical and organizational patterns.

Despite the substantial knowledge these studies have provided, they have also generated many more questions due to their suggestive and often times difficult-to-interpret results. Several issues plague the body of work done in this area. Faulty interpretation of results has sometimes led the researchers to baseless and even false assumptions. There have also been a great number of inconsistencies across the literature in terms of both design and findings. This is likely due to the fact that many studies have focused on either linguistic features or rhetorical ones. Rarely have the two been explored in tandem other than in the case of cohesion, which is not unexpected as cohesion and coherence are often regarded as a pair. However, this goes back to the issue of a faulty premise, as much research has shown the two can function independently (see Carrell, 1982; Widdowson, 1978) and even, at times, in spite of the other (see Kolln, 1999). Finally, there is the issue of rigor. Many contrastive studies conducted between Japanese and English writing simply are lacking in design. Some studies lack sufficient tertium comparationis, as termed by Connor and Moreno (2005), and thus compare data that is not comparable, e.g., texts across genres. Some results are based on simple comparisons of percentages without consideration for varying lengths of the data in corpora let alone rigid statistical analyses; still others are short on data that indicates statistically significant conclusions. In short, there are numerous discrepancies across Japanese

and English contrastive studies, which have made it difficult to effectively come to any satisfactory conclusions regarding the specific English conventions with which Japanese L2 learners struggle.

Contrastive Rhetoric: Origin, Criticisms, & Contributions

Contrastive rhetoric was first posited by Kaplan (1966) in his seminal work *Cultural Thought Patterns in Intercultural Education* in which he analyzed close to 600 essays and concluded that L1 English speakers write in a linear pattern (represented by a straight line) and support their theses with specific details. He contrasted this description of English rhetoric to that of rhetorical patterns found in four other "cultural thought patterns," namely, Semitic, Oriental, Romance, and Russian. According to Kaplan, learners from each of these cultural groups produced patterns unique to their cultural and linguistic backgrounds. For example, he claimed that learners of Semitic background (e.g., Arabic) utilize a series of complex and diverse parallel structures, both positive and negative, in their paragraph development. "Oriental" learners (Kaplan's generalized term for Chinese and Korean learners) displayed a somewhat illogical structure, circling around the topic without ever directly addressing it. Romance learners often drifted away from the main ideas of their writing and provided seemingly irrelevant descriptions. Based on these findings, Kaplan postulated that culture plays a significant role in how discourse is constructed and attributed cultural differences to the occurrence of apparent divergences between non-native English speakers' writing, particularly speakers of languages with rhetorical traditions other than Anglo-American, and native English speakers' writing.

Kaplan's (1966) study in contrastive rhetoric was one of the first to explore the issue of L1 cultural identity in writing and how it may interfere with and influence L2 English writing. In his study, Kaplan describes how English native-speakers often find L2 English writing illogical, ambiguous, and sometimes incomprehensible and points to the transfer of the learner's L1 thought patterns as the culprit. With such a contentious theory, it is no wonder then that since its introduction over half a century ago, the field of contrastive rhetoric has been bombarded with waves of dissent in academic discourse. Opponents of contrastive rhetoric claim its oversimplification of languages and cultures and overemphasis of cognitive factors at the expense of sociocultural factors is a serious point of contention (Connor, 1996; Connor & Johns, 1990; Kubota, 1997; Matsuda, 2001). Much of this criticism is due to its association with the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which has, for the most part, been dismissed by scholars.

Origin of Contrastive Rhetoric

The basic foundation or premise of contrastive rhetoric can be traced back to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Connor, 1996, 1997; Kubota & Lehner, 2004), also known as the Whorfian hypothesis, which puts forth two main theses: 1) structural differences between languages are paralleled by nonlinguistic cognitive differences; and 2) language "is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas, but is itself a shaper of ideas, the program and guide for the individual's meaningful activity . . . " (Whorf, 1956, p. 212). In other words, language is not simply a discursive construction of the world and its perceptions but in fact shapes those perceptions.

Linguistic determinism

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis thus makes two assertions—one of linguistic determinism and one of linguistic relativity (sometimes referred to as the "strong" and "weak" versions of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis). As mentioned earlier, over the years this "strong" version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (i.e., language dictates thought) has come to be viewed as erroneous (see Clark & Clark, 1979; Connor, 1996; Devitt & Sterelny, 1987; Pinker, 1994). One of the strongest opponents of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, Pinker (1994), for example, points to a range of evidence against linguistic determinism, such as the misrepresentation of the language used to support the hypothesis in the first place (the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis was largely based on Whorf's findings that Hopi does not have any words for time, which was later to be found inaccurate), the translatability of languages, i.e., a language can be translated into a whole other separate, non-related language, and thought is possible without language (e.g., babies think before acquiring language; animals show evidence of thoughtful behavior), and language often is an inadequate mode for expressing thought (e.g., lack of words to articulate exactly what one is thinking). Clark (1996) echoes many of Pinker's objections and sums up nicely why Whorf's premise is so misleading: "Whorf took for granted that language is primarily an instrument of thought" (p. 325). It is not the other way around, i.e., thought is not an instrument of language. Connor (1996) further argues that linguistic determinism suggests L2 fluency is unattainable as it assumes that one's L1 governs his/her thought, which would consequently form cultural and/or linguistic bias within the learner from which he/she would be unable to escape, resulting in the obstruction of acquiring fluency in the L2. As this is clearly not the case (many people become entirely fluent in a second language), and for the previous reasons listed, linguistic determinism has been largely rejected by scholars, and, due to its association to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, contrastive rhetoric is often charged with the same offense, i.e., determinism, and repudiated as well (see Zamel, 1983).

Linguistic relativity

As Clark (1996), argues, it is one thing to say that language encodes different points of view; it is another to say speakers are "forced" to think in ways dictated by these differences. And, like Clark, there have been those who have rejected the notion of linguistic determinism yet support a "weaker" version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (often referred to as linguistic relativity) that suggests that though language may not determine thought, it does appear to influence it (Gumperz & Levinson, 1996), and it is to this assumption, that is, linguistic relativity, to which contrastive rhetoric adheres.

It is important to distinguish between linguistic determinism and linguistic relativity because the former has essentially been snubbed while the latter has garnered significant support from research over the past two decades or so (see Boroditsky, 2001; Casasanto, 2008; Hunt & Agnoli, 1991; Lucy, 1997; Lupyan, 2012; Pederson, 1995; Slobin, 1996; Wolff & Holmes, 2011; Zlatev & Blomberg, 2015). These studies offer findings in direct conflict with one of Pinker's main criticisms of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, i.e., the translatability of language, by pointing to the notion that though all languages may be translatable there is often times something lost in translation due to the fact that a concept that is easily and naturally expressed in one language is difficult to convey if not entirely insignificant and/or unacknowledged in another, e.g., the linguistically expressed concern for fit over location of an item in Korean (Choi & Bowerman, 1991), the lack of counterfactuals in Chinese (Hunt & Agnoli, 1991), the definite eyewitness tense and inferential hearsay past tense of Turkish (Aksu-Koc & Slobin, 1986).

Because linguistic relativity is the cornerstone on which Kaplan constructed his notion of contrastive rhetoric[3], it is important to recognize that though empirical evidence has yet to entirely settle the matter on the validity of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Zlatev & Blomberg, 2015), these studies and others do appear to point to the possibility of the influence of language on thought and thereby offer a reason to give credence to linguistic relativity, and thereby lend plausibility to Kaplan's contrastive rhetoric. But contrastive rhetoric has received plenty of criticism for reasons beyond its connection to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis.

3 There is some debate over whether or not contrastive rhetoric is actually rooted in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (see Ying, 2000; 2001), but the majority of scholars seem to agree that the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis was an important antecedent to Kaplan's view.

Criticisms of Contrastive Rhetoric

Contrastive rhetoric emerged from the idea that each language and culture has rhetorical conventions unique to itself. Taking notice of how L2 English learners of different L1s write in different patterns, Kaplan theorized that there is a link between logic/thought patterns and writing structure. There are those who have criticized contrastive rhetoric and its underlying theory for what it has resulted in: product-centered teaching in the L2 writing classroom. They have argued that due to contrastive rhetoric's focus on the written text, there is a trend among language teachers to overemphasize the end product (see Leki, 1991; Silva, 1990, 1993).

The fact of the matter is, however, that contrastive rhetoric's purpose—to seek out and identify written features with which L2 learners struggle—can only be achieved by investigating the texts themselves. But contrastive rhetoric's focus on the written product is not intended to suggest the text should be emphasized over all other writing characteristics. Rather, contrastive rhetoric is claiming that by exploring the text itself, teachers can pinpoint the specific, problematic areas that could account for why L2 learners' writing is perceived as illogical and ambiguous relative to that of L1 speakers' writing. By helping learners to be aware of what is expected in the end product, teachers can help them in other dimensions of writing as well. The entire concept of contrastive rhetoric is then based on a two-step approach: 1) Discerning the differences and patterns of L2 idiosyncratic rhetorical forms in comparison to those of the target language, followed by 2) teaching L2 learners how to meet the conventions and rhetorical expectations of the target language based on those discernments. Contrastive rhetoric is therefore meant to inform teaching practice but not shape it. It is, in a way, like a crystal ball that foresees the pitfalls that await in the learners' end products if they are not addressed early on in the classroom. What teachers do with this clairvoyant insight is then left up to them.

Additionally, many empirical studies have questioned the "conventional wisdom" of contrastive rhetoric (see Kubota, 1998a, 1998b, 2014; Kubota & Lehner, 2004; Shi & Kubota, 2007). Recent contrastive rhetorical studies have, for example, criticized Kaplan's oversimplification of languages and cultures and overemphasis of cognitive factors at the expense of sociocultural factors as preferred rhetoric (Connor, 1996; Kubota, 1997; Matsuda, 2001; Spack, 1997). Spack (1997), for instance, argues that contrastive rhetoric ignores the writer's unique individual identity in favor of a generalized large cultural identity. Criticisms such as these have given attention to genre and the role it plays in unifying the nature of written discourse patterns across languages (see Bazerman, 1985, 1988; Hyland, 2004; Lopez, 1982; Moreno, 1997; Najjar, 1990; Reid, 1988; Swales, 1990). Such studies have indicated

that writing is much more complex than contrastive rhetoric gives it credit for and involves a multiplicity of rhetorical forms and dynamic styles, yet still functions within purposeful rhetorical conventions, education policies, and politics, all of which are being influenced by an ever-globalizing society (Kubota, 2014).

It should be noted, however, that over the years Kaplan has addressed much of these criticisms and has since modified his position (see 1987). Kaplan now accepts that all cultural thought patterns exist in all languages, including English. Therefore, as Kaplan (1987) himself has claimed, rhetorical variation across cultures is not necessarily a reflection of culturally-defined thought patterns, but he still has not backed down on the pedagogical usefulness of contrastive rhetoric:

> In fact, it is now my opinion that all of the various rhetorical modes identified . . . are possible in any language . . . The issue is that each language has certain clear preferences, so that while all forms are possible, all forms do not occur with equal frequency or in parallel distribution. (p. 10)

Intercultural rhetoric

Due to such criticisms, Connor (1996, 2008, 2011) has proposed an alternative to contrastive rhetoric that she has termed "intercultural rhetoric,[4]" which gives greater consideration for sociocultural factors by viewing conventions of English academic discourse as "socially produced in particular communities" (Hyland & Salager-Meyer, 2008, p. 297). Connor contends that rhetoric must be investigated without oversimplified generalizations and static descriptions and, accordingly, argues for the importance of considering language and writing as a social interaction within particular contexts (much like Fairclough, 1992; Hyland, 2004; Moreno, 1997). Connor, however, elaborates further than others who have made similar claims. She suggests that because there is an "accommodation" that occurs between the L2 English learner and the L1 English speaker during an interaction, it is clear that intercultural communication is "not one of assimilation by non-native English speakers" (2011, p. 7). According to Connor, these two notions, that is, a) the study of rhetoric must take into consideration both the social and cultural contexts, and b) communication across cultures does not demand that one speaker assimilates into the language and expectations of the other, distinguish intercultural rhetoric from contrastive rhetoric and make it the better option of the two.

4 Enkvist (1997) suggested that contrastive rhetoric and intercultural rhetoric are interchangeable terms. For Connor, however, it is important to distinguish between the two.

Critical contrastive rhetoric

Beyond its supposed tendency to reduce language and culture to static constructs, contrastive rhetoric has also faced more serious (and, perhaps, hyperbolic) accusations of stereotyping, Othering, and linguistic imperialism (see Kubota, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2014; Pennycook, 1998). Kubota and Lehner (2004) claim that contrastive rhetoric is a byproduct of "the neocolonial expansion of American economic and political power that attracted a great number of international and immigrant English learners" (p. 18). Pennycook (1998) takes it one step further, suggesting that Kaplan's view presents L2 English learners as primitive beings in need of enlightenment. According to Pennycook (1998), contrastive rhetoric "reproduces . . . the Other as deviant and . . . as locked in ancient and unchanging modes of thought and action" (p. 189).

Due to such criticisms, some scholars have called for alternative conceptual frameworks that take into account these various issues of politics and power. Critical contrastive rhetoric, proposed by Kubota and Lehner (2004), is one such framework (Connor's previously discussed intercultural rhetoric is another). Echoing Pennycook (1998), Kubota and Lehner find fault with Kaplan's contrastive rhetoric as they feel its "assimilation and adherence to a perceived, monolithic, hegemonic English written rhetoric" (p. 22) acts as a "colonial construction of cultural dichotomies" (p. 7). Critical contrastive rhetoric, on the other hand, reconceptualizes cultural difference in rhetoric and provides for the variety of language and culture as well as for the uniqueness of individual identity.

Orientalism

Most of the points of contention made that have demanded and brought about reimagined forms of contrastive rhetoric are based in ideological and theoretical notions much like those made by Edward Said (1978) in his now classic work Orientalism, (Atkinson, 2012; Li, 2014, Walker, 2010) in which he described Western scholars of Asian Studies as Napoleon-like conquerors seeking conquest of the Orient by liberating it from its antiquated ways and revitalizing it through what they saw as Europeans' superior intellect. These scholars promoted the spread of Oriental societies throughout the Anglo-Saxon sphere and the establishment of Oriental Studies departments in "every major European university" (Said, 1978, p. 211)—all supposed evidence of the Westerners' profound knowledge and grasp of everything "Oriental." But Said unashamedly pointed out the blatant ethnocentric bias and the essentialization of the exotic Other that was principle to these activities, forcing scholars to reexamine the stereotypes and ethnocentric biases they projected in attempts to describe and teach Asian cultures.

Much like Said's accusations of these Western scholars, contrastive rhetoric's critics consider it and its proponents guilty of continuing colonial expansionism, but not by way of ships, oceans, and settlements, rather through the English classroom and what they see as the reducing of L2 learners' cultural and individual identities to that of simply non-English. Additionally, it would not be too far a stretch to say that Kaplan's lumping together of Chinese and Korean writing into a single group that he unfortunately characterized as "Oriental" contributed to these "Orientalism" accusations.

Theory, ideology, & pedagogy

When these various criticisms, which have called for new alternatives and the renaming of contrastive rhetoric, are carefully assessed, however, it is clear, as Walker (2010) asserts, that they can be attributed to mistrust, or, at the very least, apprehension of contrastive rhetoric's motives rather than true Orientalist-type exploitation and colonialism. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that some of the arguments that opponents of contrastive rhetoric make are theoretically sound. Many studies, for example, have clearly pointed to the fact that cultural and social practices and preferences shape writing, and, now, due to these insights, writing is generally accepted as a social action within particular contexts (Fairclough, 1992). I am not contesting this. However, critics such as Connor, Kubota, Kubota and Lehner, Pennycook and others appear to be assuming much about the motives of Kaplan and other supporters of contrastive rhetoric and fail to realize or choose to ignore that the purpose of contrastive rhetoric was and always has been pedagogical (Li, 2008). Nothing more.

Therefore, contrastive rhetoric is an attempt to help L2 writers, not to disparage other languages or inflate the English language. Péry-Woodley (1990) goes even further, not only stating that contrastive rhetoric does not promote such ideologies but arguing that it in fact is the "best antidote" (p. 143) to overcoming them and ridding research and teachers of ethno/lingocentricism altogether.

Position & power

Finally, it is important to recognize that much of the aforementioned criticisms, such as the Orientalist-type essentialization of the non-Western Other, can be traced back to its traditional approach that was only concerned with other languages (often lumping distinctly different language groups, such as Chinese and Korean, together) compared to English. Critics were quick to point fingers at this approach, aversely claiming that in doing so contrastive rhetoric positions English as the pinnacle of writing to which all other languages should be compared. One

such criticism comes from Kowal (1998) who asserts that Kaplan's view presents the English language as superior to other languages and thereby insinuates that L2 English learners are second-rate to native English speakers: "Kaplan puts the 'native reader'—and the English teacher, by proxy—in the position of authority, and of power" (p. 136).

It should be noted, however, that though the context in which contrastive rhetoric was generated was that of EFL/ESL (again, for pedagogical purposes), there is no reason that it cannot be applied to non-English situations nor that Kaplan ever indicated or implied that it should not. This is because if we are to strip contrastive rhetoric down to its nuts and bolts we will be able to clearly see that it is about understanding and identifying the differences that exist between learners' L1s and L2s and has never suggested that one language, culture, or thought pattern is preferred above another (Ferris & Roberts, 2001).

Contributions of Contrastive Rhetoric

Since Kaplan put forth his initial hypothesis, there has been a great increase in awareness of and interest in rhetorical frameworks outside of Western cultures and languages as evidenced by the impetus of succeeding studies conducted on non-English rhetoric. For example, one of the better known of these studies comes from Robert T. Oliver (1971). In *Communication and Culture in Ancient India and China*, Oliver explored Chinese and Indian communication and culture in relation to philosophy and social customs based on the premise that even though "rhetoric may be universal in the sense that philosophy or religion are universals," (p. 7) rhetoric is unique to the culture in which it arises, just as philosophical systems and religions are. In a similar fashion, Smith (1971) sought to develop an African concept of rhetoric separate and distinct from that of the Western rhetorical tradition by drawing from traditional African philosophy.

There have also been contrastive rhetorical studies conducted that gave no consideration to the English language or English rhetoric whatsoever, such as Abbott (1993) who investigated ancient Mayans' rhetoric in comparison with classical Spanish rhetorical theory. Other studies have looked to non-Western rhetorical patterns in an effort to better understand rhetoric as a whole. Hatim (1990), for example, investigated Arabic rhetoric and its models of argumentation in hopes of bringing insight toward a "theory of text types" (p. 47) that would be useful for and applicable to a non-language and non-culture specific rhetoric.

More recently, writing pedagogy research has sought to utilize non-English rhetorical approaches in the English composition classroom. In his 2011 study, Cole implemented a Native American rhetorical device into the English composition classroom and found that students' writing and thinking skills improved. Furthermore, Cole claimed that studying non-Western rhetorical strategies helps to reposition Western rhetoric "as an object of analysis and critique itself" (p. 122), which would effectively aid researchers in breaking free from the pitfalls of ethnocentricity. This is clearly in accord with Péry-Woodley's (1990) "antidote" praise of contrastive rhetoric.

Therefore, regardless of the allegations of determinism, essentialism, linguistic imperialism and the like, contrastive rhetoric has survived. Not in spite of its faults but ironically and largely because of them. Owing to contrastive rhetoric, it is now understood that writing requires not only awareness of but also recognition that there is a set of rules that govern how ideas are presented, supported, explained, and more, and that this set of rules extends far beyond grammatical structures (although exactly from where these set of rules are derived is still up for debate). It is a social interaction that is far more complex than ever could have been realized without contrastive rhetoric shedding light on its intricacies.

Furthermore, Kaplan's first observation has since had an immeasurable impact on L2 writing pedagogy—its initial purpose (Hinkel, 2002). In his humble and admittedly, at times, flawed attempt to understand rhetoric and its patterns beyond the English language, Kaplan has provided a great deal of insight into L2 writing and has contributed immensely to L2 writing pedagogy as is evidenced by a more discipline-oriented approach that is most common in textbooks and classrooms today (Silva, 1990). For this alone Kaplan should be commended. However, contrastive rhetoric has done much more for the field than this. It has both brought forth and contributed to the argument, and this assent and dissent in scientific discussion is the stuff of which knowledge is made (Harris, 2002).

Kaplan and his hypothesis are what brought us to where we are now, which is recognition of L2 writers' struggles and plausible postulations for why it is so difficult for them to master the complex conventions of writing beyond the linguistic ones. There are multiplicities of factors clashing about in the learner's psyche both obstructing and contributing to his/her writing that include but are not limited to linguistic, cultural, sociocultural, cognitive, stylistic, political, and contextual factors. Contrastive rhetoric has helped us get to the point where we are now at least aware of these factors and has brought with it a newfound concern

for rhetorical traditions and languages outside the Anglo-Saxon sphere. Therefore, when carefully contemplated, Kubota and Lehner's (2004) "critical contrastive rhetoric" and Connor's (1996) "intercultural rhetoric" do not really offer anything more than what contrastive rhetoric has already given us. In fact, it seems such terms are essentially arguing semantics, as even Connor began the focus of her argument with the name: "intercultural rhetoric is the more appropriate name for this field of study" (p. 1).

Over the years, it is clear that contrastive rhetoric has learned much from its criticisms and, like a good wine, has become more refined with age. No matter what one labels it, contrastive rhetoric is now not only an acceptable approach to understanding differences in languages, which makes it useful for helping L2 learners become more proficient in the target language; it is, as Péry-Woodley (1990) and Cole (2011) claim, the "antidote" for ethno/lingocentricity. This antidote comes in the form of an awareness and appreciation for non-English rhetorical patterns and conventions that contrastive rhetoric has encouraged, which, in turn, help teachers, students, and researchers alike to reflect on their understanding and assumptions of their own languages and cultures and move on to being sincerely concerned with others, not necessarily in comparison to their own but for what those languages on their own have to offer.

Contrastive Rhetoric & Common Ground

Clearly, contrastive rhetoric brings a lot to the proverbial table; however, contrastive rhetoric remains legitimate and relevant even beyond its pedagogical purposes and contributions to the field. This is made particularly evident when it is juxtaposed with Clark's (1985) Common Ground (CG) theory. Interpreting contrastive rhetoric within the theoretical framework of CG dismantles the criticisms that have apotheosized it to a collection of complex ideologies by affixing it to something much more universal and heterogeneous—communication. In doing so, the attacks that have claimed contrastive rhetoric to be rooted in stereotypes and bias and even redolent of English superiority over other languages and cultures dissipate into a thin vapor of little consequence.

Common ground

A concept proposed by Clark (1985), CG theory refers to the shared knowledge, beliefs, and assumptions that are believed to be essential for successful communicative interaction. Clark argues that without mutuality it is not possible for two individuals to understand one another or have a meaningful interaction. This stance is further supported by Duranti (1997) who argues that even "simple"

exchanges, such as greetings, are arranged within specific and complex prior contexts and experiences, situational contexts, as well as cultural models and are dependent on the participants' shared knowledge on which each bases his/her assumptions. These assumptions affect the choices the participants make in their interaction with one another as they look toward 1) precedents that help to inform them of appropriate choices in specific contexts and then 2) conventions that the participants have acquired by being a part of and interacting within that discourse community over a period of time. These "coordination devices," as Clark calls them, help each participant involved in a communicative interaction to coordinate the communication in such a way that he/she has "good reason to believe," that is, assume, the other can, with ease, accurately interpret the intended meaning of his/her utterance.

Since precedent and convention play such important roles in communication, it is safe to conclude that understanding is much easier to achieve when the participants come from similar backgrounds (Gumperz, 1982; Kecskes, 2014; Scollon & Scollon, 2001; Tannen, 2005), that is, understanding is more likely to be achieved between those who share similar prior experiences and cultural contexts since there is a much greater likelihood that these participants will share a wider range of knowledge that overlap to create the participants' common ground. This process or "coordination" cannot be achieved without establishing commonalities (Clark, 1996), and these "commonalities" rely heavily on assumptions based on precedent and conventions. This is where the problem arises for L2 learners.

Unlike L1 speakers who have shared prior experience, i.e., "precedent," in the language to be able to effectively identify and apply conventions to meet the expectations of other L1 speakers, the L2 learner lacks this ability, not because he/she is inept or even negatively influenced by his/her native language, but simply due to the fact that the "sum of [the L2 learner's and L1 speaker's] mutual knowledge, beliefs and suppositions" (Clark, 1996, p. 327) do not add up to an equal equation, or, in other words, do not meet to converge and establish a broad enough common ground on which the L2 learner can coordinate an effective communicative outcome with the L1 speaker. And, since success of a communicative outcome is dependent on the participants' mutual understanding of the circumstances surrounding the perceived context (Clark, 1996; Stalnaker 2002), there is very little chance the L2 learner and L1 speaker will generate understanding between one another without negotiating a common ground, often referred to as emergent common ground (Kecskes, 2014).

While it may be possible for a common ground to emerge through conversation, the same cannot be said in the writing context. Accordingly, it is of the utmost importance that L2 learners are provided with the knowledge they need to establish commonalities with speakers of the target language so that coordination in language use can be achieved and common ground established. If we are to carefully examine contrastive rhetoric and Kaplan's intention behind it in tandem with CG's stance on communication, it becomes clear that contrastive rhetoric is essentially a valid theory of communication that had the regrettable fortune of being branded as some kind of pedagogical approach entrenched in ideologies its architect Kaplan never claimed and the theory itself never attested to. Accordingly, errors made by L2 writers should be understood as not simply manifested "deviations from native-speaker norms" (Kusuyama, 2006, p. 41) but more as a hindrance to fundamental communication.

In direct opposition to its criticisms, contrastive rhetoric seeks not to purport the superiority of English and neither does it attempt to revive Western imperial expansionism nor has it ever attempted to do so. It may be said that the original notion behind contrastive rhetoric, i.e., culture influences thought patterns, and therefore can account for differences of rhetorical patterns used by L2 English learners, is overreaching in its endeavor to explain why L2 learners fail to produce coherent and logical texts. However, the crux of contrastive rhetoric is really just about helping L2 learners become more effective writers in the target language by bringing "precedent" to the forefront and identifying the conventions shared amongst L1 speakers. In doing so, contrastive rhetoric shows how the choices/assumptions the L2 writer makes do not mesh with the expectations and assumptions of L1 speakers, which results in a coordination problem, or a perceived illogical text by the L1 speaker. This is exactly what Clark (1996) discusses in his assessment of what constitutes communication: "Communication is built on commonalities of thought between people and taken for granted in the communities in which each language is used" (p. 325).

When looking back at Kaplan and his original notion of contrastive rhetoric, it seems he and his theory were both and always have been concerned with the "commonalities of thought." These commonalities, which are indeed "taken for granted" is what causes the most trouble for L2 writers, as Li (2014), explains: " . . . what [is] hardest for an outsider [are] . . . those hidden, unarticulated values about good writing" (p. 105). It is those "hidden, unarticulated values about good writing" that are the commonalities taken for granted which result in the "outsider," or in contrastive rhetoric's case, the L2 English writer, being unable to

meet the assumptions and expectations of the L1 speaker. The pedagogical purpose of contrastive rhetoric is thus to expose the commonalities of thoughts and help the teacher to recognize the differences between those commonalities that the L2 writer brings with him/her when writing in English and those commonalities of the L1 speaker which often do not meet to establish a common ground between the two. In fact, this appears to be what Kaplan (1966) was trying to initially convey in his hypothesis, as he himself stated:

> This discussion is not intended to offer any criticism of other existing paragraph developments; rather it is intended only to demonstrate that paragraph developments other than those normally regarded as desirable in English do exist . . . the teacher must be himself aware of these differences, and he must make these differences overtly apparent to his students." (p. 14)

Thus, contrastive rhetoric is simply about the investigation of commonalities across varying cultural contexts in an effort to help writers find common ground with their readers. Kaplan had it right when he postulated that culture creates differences, but he aggrandized culture by implying that it is the sole cause of these differences. The reasons for these differences extend far beyond Kaplan's simplistic construct of culture to encompass the act of communication not only across cultures but within cultures, subcultures, discourse communities, and even between two individuals in a specific context and situation (Kubota, 1997). The main criticism of contrastive rhetoric has been that it has not taken these dimensions into consideration. Others have attempted to rectify this, such as Connor's (1996) intercultural rhetoric and Kubota's and Lehner's (2004) critical contrastive rhetoric as discussed earlier, but, in the end, a much more practical approach than a reimagined and/or renamed contrastive rhetoric is to simply take it for what it is at its roots: an approach to help L2 learners reach a common ground with L1 speakers.

Veritably, Kaplan overstepped with his initial notion, and, much like his antecedent Whorf, "took for granted that language is primarily an instrument of thought" (Clark, 1996, p. 325). But, as has been shown, his premise is still very much rooted in basic communication. Thus, when contrastive rhetoric is examined in close proximity with Clark's CG theory, the need to redefine or reimagine it becomes unnecessary, because in one fell swoop CG takes into account all of the concerns contrastive rhetoric's critics have expressed and essentially makes each one of them a moot point. Thus, despite some of the questionable assumptions associated with

contrastive rhetoric and the studies that have been based on those assumptions, especially in its formative years, contrastive rhetoric, in the name of CG, can confidently deny the majority of the sins of which it has been accused.

Contrastive Studies Between Japanese & English

Since Kaplan's work, contrastive studies between the languages of English and Japanese have attempted to understand why, in general, English texts written by Japanese are often times experienced as less coherent by L1 speakers of English (see Connor, 2005; Harder & Harder, 1982; Hinds, 1976; Nishihara, 1990; Rear, 2008; Yamashita, 2015). As coherence can be established through the effective employment of both rhetorical and linguistic features working together (Carrell, 1982; Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Hyland & Hyland, 2006; Reid, 1988), contrastive studies between English and Japanese have sought weaknesses of and errors in Japanese L2 learners' English writing that focus on these features within the texts.

Like Kaplan, the majority of studies has looked at the L1, i.e., Japanese, as the possible origin of observed errors in Japanese English writing and have employed a variety of analytical techniques that run along a continuum from the more objective and quantifiable measures concerned with grammatical and idiomatic errors at the sentence level to the more subjective and interpretive patterns of rhetorical and organizational features. The next section will begin with a look at studies that have defined and described the common rhetorical and organizational patterns of Japanese L1 and L2 English writing. Traditional and contemporary views of Japanese rhetoric derived from these studies will also be discussed. This is followed by a discussion of the sentence-level and other textual features that have been identified in the literature over the years.

Organization of Written Discourse

Past studies in contrastive rhetoric have found that, in general, L2 writers organize and structure their texts differently than NESs (Hinds, 1983a, 1983b; Mauranen, 1992; Ostler, 1987; Silva, 1993; Staples & Reppen, 2016). Many of these studies suggest L1 influence/interference brings about the distinct rhetorical, organizational/structural differences in the L2 writers' texts when compared to texts written by NESs. Other studies, however, have focused more on the linguistic proficiency of the L2 learners in an attempt to explain such differences and the obstacles they face writing in the L2. Tillema (2012), for example, argued that the linguistic challenges posed to L2 writers impacts their cognitive functions, stating that writing in the L2 can "constrict working memory resources, leaving fewer resources for conceptual and regulatory activities" (p. 3). Among other things, these activities include structuring of a text.

Thus, the literature in this field generally views errors in organization and structure as either a result of the L1 and/or cultural background of the L2 writer or of limitations in linguistic proficiency, which affects not only the text itself but also the process in which it is produced. With regard to Japanese L2 writers (as stated a moment ago), much of the literature has tended to lean towards L1/cultural influence in an effort to explain anomalies in English texts written by Japanese.

Rhetorical & structural patterns

One of the earlier and perhaps most notable scholars in the field of contrastive rhetoric is John Hinds who analyzed discourse organization and features of several Asian languages, greatly contributing to our understanding of Japanese rhetoric in particular. Hinds' assumptions about Japanese rhetoric have remained prevalent fixtures in the literature and have been adopted by a number of researchers in an effort to understand and explain why English texts written by Japanese L2 learners often appear, to the English-speaking reader, intuitive (see Atkinson, 1997; Ballard & Clanchy, 1984; Clyne, 1994; Doi, 1986; Harder, 1983), ambiguous/vague/indirect (Davies, 1998; Kunihiro, 1976; Harder, 1984; Harder & Harder, 1982; Nishihara, 1990; Rear, 2008; Reischauer, 1988), illogical (Connor, 2005; Doi, 1986; McVeigh, 2002; Oi & Kamimura, 1998), and loosely organized (Harder, 1983; Shimozaki, 1988). More specifically, Hinds' theories have been used to justify conclusions of intralingual errors identified within the rhetorical and organizational patterns of English texts written by Japanese. Thus, no discussion of contrastive studies between Japanese and English would be complete without first introducing Hinds' contributions.

Traditional views of Japanese rhetoric

Hinds (1976, 1980, 1983a, 1983b, 1987, 1990) concluded that the Japanese language has a number of rhetorical/organizational patterns that differ from those found in English. In one of his most influential studies, after investigating a seven-paragraph piece translated from Japanese from the 天声人語 (Tensei Jingo) column of a reputable national Japanese newspaper called 朝日新聞 (Asahi Shimbun), Hinds (1983a, 1983b) identified the 転 (ten) of 起承転結 (ki-shō-ten-ketsu)[5] as an "intrusion" and an "unexpected element" in what he described as an "otherwise normal progression of ideas" (p. 188). Hinds concluded that Japanese writing demonstrates a digressive element in its structure and claimed this type of rhetorical structure to be commonplace in Japanese.

5 The term used to describe the traditional structure and development of Japanese prose adopted from the Chinese *qi cheng zhuan he* and first introduced into Japanese literature by the Japanese poet Rai Sanyo (Nishioka & Wada, 1995).

Hinds further characterized Japanese writing as inductive and reader-responsible and argued that such differences are related to expectations concerning the extent of reader involvement. He proposed that English language cultures place the burden of clarity chiefly on the writer, while Japanese requires a more active reader role. As a result, Japanese writing appears to be vague and indirect. This belief of Japanese rhetoric has in fact enjoyed strong support by numerous others in the field (see McClure, 2000; Yamada, 1997; Akasu & Asao 1993; Day, 1996; Doi 1996; Gudykunst & Nishida 1993; Okabe, 1983) and has been linked to traditional Japanese values, such as the importance of preserving harmony 和 (wa) and group orientation (Nakane, 1970; Morita & Ishihara, 1989) and to the highly contextualized nature of Japanese communication (Arima, 1989; Ikegami, 1989). The perceptions of Japanese rhetoric as inductive, digressive, and reader-responsible (vague/indirect) have since appeared, sometimes explicitly and other times implicitly, throughout contrastive studies concerned with Japanese and English.

In one of the more influential contrastive studies between English and Japanese, Oi (1986) looked at both linguistic and rhetorical/organizational features in Japanese writing and Japanese English writing. Oi found that the Japanese writing went from the specific to the general, i.e., followed an inductive reasoning pattern, and finished the argument in a "different direction," substantiating Hinds' earlier observations.

In their investigation of 130 essays written by Japanese university students in the United States (ESL context), Achiba and Kuromiya (1983) found that while the learners writing in Japanese adopted the traditional inductive approach, there was a tendency to apply an deductive approach in their English writing. They accounted for this by pointing towards the high contextualization of Japanese, arguing that when Japanese learners write in English, they try to write explicitly because the readers are not familiar with the way Japanese think, which leads to a deductive approach. Achiba and Kuromiya went on to explain that, in contrast, when Japanese write in Japanese, they expect the readers to take more responsibility and to infer the meaning of a text; this leads to a more inductive approach. These explanations for the phenomenon Achiba and Kuromiya observed in their study undeniably reiterate some of the traditional views of Japanese rhetoric, namely, Japanese is a highly contextualized language and its writing is reader responsible.

Kobayashi (1984) analyzed the writing of 226 Japanese university students in the United States (ESL context) and Japan (EFL context). She found the Japanese L1 and L2 writing in Japan tended to adopt inductive patterns of organization. In

their study of 30 EFL Japanese learners' English writing, Kamimura and Oi (1998) discovered that the majority of Japanese writers employed an inductive pattern as well. O'Riordan (1999) reported on the extent of rhetorical transfer in the writing of four Japanese college students studying in the United States and found that the inductive approach was the norm in their English writing. Most recently, Yamashita (2015) identified a proclivity for irrelevant ideas, which she referred to as "coherence breaks," in English texts written by Japanese speakers. As the term implies, these digressions resulted in what the reader experienced as breaks in the coherence of the ideas within the texts, closely resembling the digressive element of which Hinds spoke.

Kobayashi (1984), Kamimura and Oi (1998), and Yamashita (2015) have all based their final conclusions on the idea that the rhetorical and organizational anomalies detected in the English texts written by Japanese could be accounted for by the conventions and characteristics of Japanese rhetoric, which have largely been based on Hinds' descriptions.

Issues with the traditional view

There is a problem, however, with many of the perceptions of Japanese rhetoric that have played influential roles in these contrastive studies' designs. As Day (1996) argued, there are certain forms of Japanese discourse that "do not fall neatly into Western categories" (p. 3) and thus attempting to explain them in terms of English categories will result in misleading and inaccurate descriptions. Wierzbicka (1997) who has sought to understand cultures through their keywords has also argued that "one cannot clarify culture-laden words of one language in terms of culture-laden words of another" (p. 236).

Hinds himself acknowledged this shortcoming of his initial notions of Japanese rhetoric (though he never retracted his views on ki-sh*ō*-ten-ketsu pattern or the reader-responsible characteristic of Japanese writing) and attempted to rectify them by reinterpreting the inductive pattern to something he referred to as a "delayed introduction of purpose" (Hinds, 1990, p. 98), or what has become known as quasi-inductive. He acknowledged that in an attempt to describe non-English rhetorical patterns, English speakers classify these patterns according to English rhetorical concepts, e.g., general-to-specific and specific-to-general. As Hinds (1990) argued, however, such a categorization prevents English speakers from fully understanding the differences between English and other languages:

> Each of the examples has a superficial rhetorical structure that approximates the general inductive style familiar to composition teachers and students in the West. This is a fallacious familiarity. I maintain that when English- speaking readers recognize that a composition is not organized deductively, they categorize the composition as inductive, thus preventing them from understanding the true differences between competent English writing and competent writing in other languages. I claim that the dichotomy between inductive and deductive writing is not a valid parameter for evaluating texts across languages. (pp. 89-90)

Despite Hinds' clarification of the inductive nature of Japanese writing, protests against Hinds' original descriptions of Japanese writing have persisted. Kubota (1997), for example, pointed out that Hinds did not take into consideration genre in his analysis and generalized the structure of newspaper articles, i.e., ki-shō-ten-ketsu, as the typical structure in Japanese writing. Kubota argued that in Japanese newspaper and magazine articles it is common for the writer to begin with a "metaphoric episode instead of with the main topic" (p. 465). This could then account for the quasi-inductive properties of the texts Hinds noticed in his study but should not be, as Kubota cautioned, regarded as a "fixed structural principle" (p. 465). In other words, non-deductive patterns may be typical in Japanese journalistic writing but are not necessarily the norm across genres. Kubota also argued that the ten Hinds identified is not necessarily a "sequential element" (p. 465) in Japanese writing but rather a rhetorical device that can be utilized in some cases in order to involve the reader. In fact, many scholars disagree with the use of ki-shō-ten-ketsu all together in any forms of writing other than journalistic (see Kabashima, 1980; Kinoshita, 1990; Maynard, 1998; Sawada, 1977).

Kubota's argument appears to hold some weight when considering the results of several different studies in the field. Despite Achiba and Kuromiya's (1983) conclusion of rhetorical and cultural influences in writing, there was still clearly a mixture of linear and circular organizational patterns in the English writing of the Japanese learners in the United States (ESL context), which was equally true of their Japanese writing, for which they could not account. Similarly, Kobayashi (1984) noticed that, in the writing produced by Japanese in the United States (ESL context), both the Japanese and English writing were deductive in nature. Other studies by Matsunaga (1999) and Miyake (2007) have also pointed towards similar anomalies.

In his study, Matsunaga indicated that though the inductive pattern was frequently used in English essays written by Japanese in Japan, the Japanese international students in the United States appeared to adopt the deductive pattern. Likewise,

Miyake observed that while Japanese ESL learners writing in English in the United States may use a deductive organizational pattern and incorporate thesis statements, there was a tendency to drop these features when writing in Japanese, even in the ESL context

Assorted results such as these have suggested that, at least to some extent, Kubota's arguments are valid. Nevertheless, evidence remains that corroborates Hinds' original perceptions of Japanese rhetoric.

Easton's (1982) longitudinal case study of Japanese English academic writing found that the earlier drafts of the participant's writing resembled the ki-shō-ten-ketsu pattern. A reason given for this was that the participant had been thinking in Japanese while formulating the first draft of the essay. This pattern changed over revisions, however, as the participant was exposed to the rhetorical expectations of English. Though, admittedly, it is impossible to attain generalizable results from a single case study (Campbell & Stanley, 1966), it can provide concrete instances of a phenomenon (Duff, 2012) and thus suggests that assertions of ki-shō-ten-ketsu as a pattern unique to the journalistic genre may not be entirely substantiated as critics have claimed.

Furthermore, looking to traditional Japanese Buddhist texts, i.e., non-journalistic writing, Maynard (1998) identified a digressive element in Japanese rhetoric similar to that of the ki-shō-ten-ketsu pattern: 起受針添結 (okori-uke-hari-soe-musubi). Though this particular pattern is made up of five parts, according to Maynard, it resembles ki-shō-ten-ketsu in that much in the same way the ten interrupts the progression of ki-shō-ten-ketsu, the fourth component of okori-uke-hari-soe-musubi, i.e., soe, acts as a "supplement" or an attachment that does not neatly align itself within the rest of the structure. Thus, at least when describing traditional Japanese rhetoric, it appears the digressive element is certainly not uncommon, and there have been others who have suggested digression may not necessarily be characteristic of only traditional Japanese rhetoric.

In Haenouchi and Ichinose's (2010) comparison of lower-scoring and higher-scoring English essays written by Japanese L2 learners, it was discovered that the two groups varied in the way that the different types of Themes[6] (adopted from

6 Adopted from Halliday's (1994) Theme-Rheme structure, patterns of idea development are categorized under six types of thematic progression: 1) Constant, 2) Extended Constant, 3) Linear, 4) Extended Linear, 4) Constant+Linear, 5) Derived, and 6) Independent.

Halliday's, 1994, Theme-Rheme structure) were distributed across the different sections of the essay. In particular, the authors found that the higher-scoring essays used Linear Themes at a similar rate throughout the text while the lower-rated essays used Linear Themes inconsistently. This would seem to suggest a ki-shō-ten-ketsu or okoru-uke-hari-soe-musubi-type structure in that these texts appeared to follow a linear pattern only to divert from that pattern, much like the ten or soe of more traditional Japanese rhetoric.

In a recent study, Rinnert, Kobayashi, and Katayama (2015) offered findings that have caused further disparities across the literature. According to Rinnert, Kobayashi, and Katayama, there has been a change in the reported rhetorical features of Japanese and English over the years. They found that though traditional Japanese features resembled those described by Hinds over three decades ago, modern Japanese tends to reflect rhetorical features that are similar to those identified in English. This claim seems to be substantiated when looking at other studies in the field. Kubota (1998a) investigated the transfer from L1 to L2 writing and found that Japanese used similar organizational patterns in both Japanese and English, even when composing in the EFL context.

Though not directly concerned with writing, Stapleton's (2001) attitude survey of 70 Japanese college students regarding how they express their opinions also revealed a shift from the "traditional" assumptions of Japanese communication, e.g., it is intuitive, indirect, and illogical (see Atkinson, 1997; Doi, 1986; Harder & Harder, 1982; Oi & Kamimura, 1998). Stapleton found that contrary to the way in which Japanese discourse has often been portrayed in the literature, Japanese hesitated little in voicing their opinions and felt it important to express themselves directly, and a 2003 study conducted by Hirose would seem to substantiate these results.

In an investigation and comparison of the organizational patterns of JEFL writers' L1 and L2 texts, Hirose found that these writers employed deductive organizational patterns in both languages and thus concluded that the common view of Japanese writing as inductive may, in fact, be a misconception. She further pointed to the fact that the JEFL writers themselves considered the L1 and L2 texts to be similar in structure/organization, which suggests the JEFL writers did not consider there to be a difference between Japanese and English patterns. While Hirose did acknowledge that the assignment itself (an opinion letter) may have naturally lent itself to the deductive pattern, i.e., the writers felt obligated to take a position at the beginning, this would seem to substantiate Stapleton's (2001) earlier findings that Japanese find it important to voice one's opinion clearly and state it directly, contradicting

the commonly held belief that Japanese discourse is ambiguous and indirect. Still, other evidence continues to suggest that remnants of traditional Japanese rhetoric remain but simply do not transfer when Japanese are writing in English.

Oi (1986) found that while Japanese L2 English learners' writing in Japanese avoided confronting an argument directly and displayed inductive patterns with digressive tendencies, these features did not appear to be transferred when writing in English. Rather, in their English writing, they clearly indicated their position, followed more of a deductive pattern, and maintained the same argument throughout. Though Oi does not attempt to account for such an anomaly, clearly L1 rhetorical patterns were not transferred (Oi, however, does hold L1 transfer responsible for the errors observed at the sentence level, to be discussed momentarily).

Sasaki and Hirose (1996), however, had no qualms pointing to L2 proficiency as the cause of errors observed in their study. In an investigation of 70 Japanese L2 English learners of low-to-high-intermediate proficiency along a variety of dimensions, including L2 proficiency, L1 writing ability, writing strategies, meta-knowledge, past writing experience, and instructional background, the authors found L2 proficiency explained the largest portion of the L2 writing ability variance observed. Sasaki and Hirose thus concluded that L1 might not be as influential on L2 writing when the two languages have different rhetorical conventions, as is the case with Japanese and English.

Studies such as the ones discussed above clearly have serious implications for both research and pedagogy, as they suggest that not only may it not be necessary to emphasize or even consider cultural differences but that by doing so in the classroom teachers could inadvertently impede the development of their students' writing skills, thereby negatively affecting the outcome of their texts.

Kubota (1998b), however, pointed out that though " . . . Japanese and English may exhibit rhetorical differences in overall frequency, they may also share characteristics of good writing" (p. 475). Kobayashi and Rinnert (2012, 2013) added that experienced writers develop a repertoire of non-language-specific writing knowledge, so they do not transfer writing knowledge associated with one language when writing in another.

An investigation of the correlation between text quality and L1/L2 organization by Hirose (2003) found that the use of deductive patterns over inductive ones in Japanese did not automatically result in a lower assessment in the Japanese

texts and use of deductive patterns rather than inductive ones did not lead to a higher assessment in the English texts. In other words, the use of knowledge about organization in the L1 did not negatively affect the quality of L2 texts and vice versa, which would appear to contradict the well-established belief that the organizational/rhetorical patterns of L2 writers harm text quality (see Silva, 1993; Tillema, 2012). In fact, Hirose concluded that writing experience in the L1 may benefit L2 writing, and writing experience in the L2 may be beneficial to L1 writing, supporting the notion that Japanese and English do indeed share characteristics of good writing (see Kubota, 1998b).

Leveraging the knowledge from the L1 could certainly be considered an effective way for L2 writers to free up working memory resources (see Tillema, 2012) and, thereby, produce better quality texts. Yet, there is a plethora of evidence that continues to confirm that, for whatever reasons, the organization of English texts written by Japanese does not always meet the rhetorical expectations of L1 English readers, which would indicate that this particular L1 knowledge may be too different to aid Japanese L2 learners in their English writing and, as a consequence, have detrimental effects.

Nishigaki and Leishman (2001), for example, found that, overall, English texts written by Japanese were more or less a series of "loosely" related paragraphs and often times the relationships between those paragraphs were not abundantly clear to the reader. In Ricento's (1987) study of reading comprehension it was found that Japanese could understand certain texts that did not follow English rhetorical patterns better than native English speakers. Ricento observed that when reordering the scrambled paragraphs of a text translated from Japanese to English, the Japanese L2 English speakers were often times better able to accomplish the task than the L1 English speakers when those texts did not meet the expectations of English rhetorical patterns. Ricento speculated that this had something to do with the relevant Japanese rhetorical tradition in those texts—a tradition that does not hold for English. Iwamoto (2006) compared the English essays of what she referred to as "experienced" and "inexperienced" students (presumably meaning students who had undergone more instruction with students who had less) and found significant differences between the two groups. According to Iwamoto, this suggested that explicit teaching of English rhetorical patterns brings about better writing in Japanese learners.

These studies would then certainly suggest that, in some way, Japanese rhetorical expectations differ from those of English, as proposed by Hinds and others as well; however, the disparities in the research clearly indicate that Japanese rhetorical and organizational patterns are not as simplistic a concept as Hinds' theories implied, and it is still unclear whether or not these patterns interfere with Japanese L2 English writing let alone result in "incoherence," "illogicality," or "ambiguity," as is so often claimed about Japanese English writing.

Contemporary views of Japanese rhetoric

The main shortfall of Hinds' descriptions of Japanese rhetoric is that they attempt to statically define the characteristics within a few basic categories and describe it in terms of English rhetorical concepts. For example, Hinds' categorization of Japanese writing as "reader-responsible" appears to only be half correct when considering other Japanese communication principles, such as 相手中心 (aite-chushin). As Day (1996) explained, aite-chushin is a Japanese concept of communication that recognizes "the intelligence and interpretive responsibility of those listening" (p. 32) but does not imply that responsibility is solely on the listener, or, in the case of texts, the reader. Rather, according to Day, meaning is symmetrically reciprocated between the speaker/writer and listener/reader in Japanese discourse. This observation may be substantiated by Maynard's (1998) claim of the writer's role in Japanese writing.

According to Maynard, the task of the Japanese writer is not to persuade or convince but to get the reader to think about an issue by providing a number of observations and perspectives. It is not entirely up to the writer to support his/her opinion. The writer's responsibility is to provide all the necessary information for the reader to be able to review and give careful consideration to the topic. The reader then must make an effort to think about and contemplate the ideas the writer is presenting in order to complete the reciprocal interaction. This position clearly demonstrates a responsibility on both the writer and the reader in Japanese rhetoric.

Other evidence that points to the importance of the writer in Japanese rhetoric is the employment of sentential repetition, which is designed to assure understanding in the reader (Maynard, 1998). The Japanese literary theory of 余情 (yojō) also depicts a writer involved with the reader. Yojō refers to the "emotional experience" of the reader by means of the images created in his/her mind through the text (Maynard, 1998, p. 132), which can occur both while and after reading. The underlying assumption here then is that yojō is created through the writer regarding the effects of his/her writing on the reader. In other words, the writer's role is affective—he/she

is responsible for considering what needs to be said and what needs not to be said in order to elicit an emotional response in the readers. The sole existence of both the sentential repetition linguistic feature and yojō literary notion in Japanese can thus only be explained by the writer having intentional regard for his/her reader and thereby implementing the necessary linguistic and rhetorical features to bring about the desired response.

In Hinds' attempt to define Japanese as a more "reader-responsible" language, he entirely ignored the reciprocal nature of communication, and, as a result, the role the writer plays in Japanese rhetoric. Oversimplifications such as these on which numerous contrastive studies between Japanese and English have been based resulted in the confusing and oftentimes conflicting conclusions that have been discussed thus far. As languages are "fluid" and "dynamic" (Kubota, 1997), it is important we do not allow ourselves to paint with such broad strokes in our effort to depict characteristics of a language. Maynard's (1997, 1998) description of Japanese discourse is a good answer to this problem as it presented a much more multi-dimensional and flexible design.

According to Maynard (1998), the basic discourse structure of Japanese is the three-part organization: 1) 序論 (joron), 2) 本論 (honron), and 3) 結論 (ketsuron). Though this structure bears a resemblance to the standard introduction-body-conclusion essay structure of English, Maynard argued that Japanese can build upon this basic structure to form a variety of logical threads, many of which do not have any commonalities with English (see Table 2.1 in Appendix A).

As Maynard (1997, 1998) demonstrated, Japanese basic discourse can follow a variety of logical threads. While some of these threads may resemble typical English patterns, many of them are in direct opposition to those patterns. For example, Logical Threads 1, 2 and even 3 are certainly similar to the standard English pattern of thesis, supporting evidence, and restated thesis/summary. However, Logical Threads 4 through 6 are very different than what a L1 English reader would expect to find in an English text. This could partially explain the lack of consistent and corroborated findings in the above studies, as Achiba and Kuromiya (1986) suggested, but is still not sufficient to account for why in some situations Japanese L2 learners wrote in a logical thread that resembled standard English patterns while in others their patterns were considered atypical of English.

The discrepancies of the above studies could be explained, at least in part, on the premise that Japanese rhetoric is a multifaceted construct that has evolved and continues to evolve over time, echoing Kubota's (1997) view on language: "Language is neither historically fixed nor emerged out of a vacuum; it is . . . constituted through the change of social and political conditions both within and between language groups" (p. 464).

Much of Japanese culture can be traced back to China, including philosophical and cultural concepts, literature, and even the writing system, 漢字 (kanji), i.e., Japanese characters. Up until the mid-to-late 19th century (Meiji Period), spoken Japanese and written Japanese were distinctly different. This was due to the fact that written Japanese was based solely on borrowed Chinese rhetorical traditions and vocabulary derived from Chinese, i.e., 漢語 (kango), and the use of vernacular Japanese in literature was largely frowned upon (Miyake, 2007; Tomasi, 2004). This diglossia issue was not addressed until the 言文一致 (genbun itchi) movement, which sought to unify written and spoken Japanese discourse; however, many of those traditional rhetorical forms have remained, such as kango, which is abundantly used in academic discourse to this very day (Maynard, 1998; Miyake, 2007). It could even be argued that the previously discussed concept of aite-chushin is a remnant of ancient Chinese philosophical values (consider, for example, the Confucian principle that saw the listener as equally responsible in discussion, see Mooji, 2014; Oliver, 1971).

Nevertheless, it is clear the Japanese notion of rhetoric has been influenced by the importation of Western literature and scholarly works, which began back in the Meiji Period, and the influence is certainly noticeable in contemporary education. As Maynard (1998) points out, there is now an emphasis placed on "logical sequences" and linear essay structure that reflect those expected in English. Nevertheless, there is still no ignoring the historical and cultural influences, such as, aite-chushin, kango, and, even, ki-shō-ten-ketsu. As such, Japanese rhetoric has become a "product of the dialectical interaction of . . . Eastern legacy and Westernization" (Tomasi, 2004, p. 107).

The disagreement among researchers as how to define Japanese rhetoric is largely due to the fact that the hodgepodge of infinite external and internal influences that have shaped Japanese rhetoric make the endeavor to isolate its specific and definable characteristics one that leads to nowhere (Mok, 1993), particularly for contrastive purposes. This is compounded by the fact that it is ever evolving—heavily influenced by the "change[s] of social and political conditions" (Kubota,

1997, p. 464). Many researchers have therefore chosen to look at sentence-level and other textual features when investigating rhetorical patterns between languages believing that "the transfer of rhetoric (from L1 to L2) is linguistically measurable" (Oi, 1986, p. 27).

Sentence-level & Textual Features

Cohesion

Cohesion is a linguistic strategy that enhances the conceptual and logical flow of ideas in a text (Louwerse & Graesser, 2007; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Discourse relations, the linking of ideas across sentences, the reasoning behind those links, the choices that led to them, and their effects on the construction of meaning and coherence have been investigated intensely since the seminal study by Hobbs (1979) (also see Sanders, Spooren, & Noordman, 1992; Sanders & Noordman, 2000). Over the years, L2 writing research has come to the conclusion that L2 writers are generally in want of cohesive strategies to some extent and, as a result, rely on weak lexical/semantic ties and theme connections in the development of their texts (Silva, 1993). Therefore, it is this sort of "underdevelopment . . . for creating textual cohesion [that] exhibit[s] only an elementary or emergent texture" in English texts written by L2 learners (Murphy, 2001, p.156). As these patterns are essentially made up of structures formed through the relationships between units within a text that work together conceptually (Silva, 2002), those connective relationships and the features that help to form them have been a central part of the field as is evidenced by the numerous studies that have investigated cohesion (see Crossley, Kyle, & McNamara, 2016; Fitzgerald & Spiegel, 1986; Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Hinkel, 2001; Liu & Braine, 2005; Mahlberg, 2006; Morris & Hirst, 2006; Taboada, 2006). Contrastive studies of cohesion have looked at a number of cohesive devices used in Japanese and English writing. Multiple studies have pointed to L1 transfer as the source of incongruence in the Japanese English writing, particularly with regard to transitional signals as these are less determined by fixed grammatical principles.

Transitions

One of the more common cohesive devices used in writing is the transitional signal/logical connector. Connor (1984) compared the frequency of these features used by Japanese ESL writers with those used by L1 English speakers and found that general cohesion density was not a discriminating factor between the L1 speakers' texts and the English texts written by the Japanese. However, Connor did acknowledge a lack of variety in the transitional signals/logical connectors used by the Japanese.

Oi (1986) analyzed various cohesive devices of English and Japanese texts written by Japanese and compared them to English texts written by L1 speakers of English. Looking at transitional words, Oi found that the Japanese employed a greater number of conjunctions in both their English and Japanese writing than the L1 speakers. According to Oi, this demonstrated a clear transfer of the L1.

Another study conducted by Hinkel (2001), found an excessive use of transitions. She remarked on L2 writers' heavy reliance on sentence-level transitions to create cohesion and also suggested that their overemphasis in the L2 writing classroom may be cause for this higher rate of transitions when compared to L1 English speakers' writing. Additionally, Hinkel pointed to the incongruities of the use of transitions and the flow of ideas in the English texts written by Japanese and showed that often the ideas preceding a transition did not seem to coordinate well with the transition used, e.g., using "in addition" when the following idea does not demonstrate additional information for the adjacent sentence.

In Nishigaki and Leishman's (2001) study, it was found that, on average, Japanese L2 learners showed little variety in these devices as well, which was also observed in an earlier study of theirs (see Nishigaki & Leisman, 1998). The most frequently used transitional signals (and, but, so, and when) accounted for nearly 55% of all the transitions used by the Japanese writers. According to Nishigaki and Leishman, the repeated use of these same signals made the writers' ideas seem simplistic and often obscured their meaning. The authors, therefore, identified this limited variety of transition signals as one of the weak elements of Japanese student writing in English and considered L1 transfer as the culprit. They proposed that the Japanese EFL learners must have considered these transitions, specifically but, as equivalent to the Japanese conjunction が (ga), which has a wide variety of meanings and functions. According to the authors, this resulted in the Japanese seeing no problems with repeating conjunctions in English, just as they would do when writing in Japanese. However, they also mentioned the possibility that these learners lacked the vocabulary and thus acknowledged L2 proficiency as another likely source of such errors.

Ellipsis

Narita, Sato, and Sugiura (2004) looked specifically at Japanese L2 English learners' use of logical connectors and compared their use with L1 writers. Though their findings did not really offer any new information (they basically substantiated other studies) the authors offered some interesting explanations for the errors they observed that differ from others. Narita, Sato, and Sugiura attributed the

overuse of logical connectors in the sentence-initial position to a conscious effort on the writers' parts to show "explicit linkage between the preceding and the subsequent propositions" (p. 118) referring to Rutherford's (1987) position that L2 learners need "direct grammatical realization" to find meaning. This suggests two things. First, L2 learners struggle with ellipsis, i.e., identifying what information can be dropped and what needs to be included, a position supported by others (see Hinkel, 2001). Secondly, it implies the learners had the cognitive capacity to make a deliberate decision to use explicit connectors to make the meaning clearer, which would contradict the first claim as ellipsis requires rather high metacognitive skills (Fulcher, 1989; Yuill & Oakhill, 1991). Furthermore, this assumption lacks empirical evidence. In fact, other studies have suggested that L2 learners do not possess the metacognitive skills to make such decisions in their writing.

For example, Yamashita's (2015) pilot study applied a number of analytical frameworks to an English text written by a Japanese college student and compared it to its L1 English counterpart. Looking at the distribution of transitional markers, she found that while the Japanese writer's usage of these markers was "appropriate," the variation was very limited. The author suggested that these markers had an impact on the overall flow of the text and affected how the argument progressed. Thus, according to Yamashita, errors in logical connectors may demonstrate a problem beyond a lack of vocabulary to a gap at the metacognitive level that affects the writing at a much larger scale. This would be contradictory to Narita, Sato, and Sugiura (2004) who suggested the learners made a conscious decision to use certain connectors over others.

Anaphoric reference

Synonyms/Repetition

Studies that have located errors in cohesive devices that are more linguistically dictated but implicit, such as ellipsis and synonym substitution, tend to suggest the learners' ability in the language plays a major factor in forming those errors. Oi (1986), for example, found Japanese were more likely to repeat the same words throughout their English writing rather than omit words that are superfluous or substitute them for a synonym. Conversely, identical words appeared much less frequently in the L1 writers' texts as a result of the effective use of synonyms. She accounted for this difference by looking to the learners' L2 proficiency. Along this line of argument, Terakawa (2013) pressed the need for Japanese learners of English to be explicitly taught reiteration through synonyms and re-expression of ideas using different wording. Though Terakawa's concern was more about reading comprehension, the relevance is quite clear: Japanese English learners struggle with this particular area of cohesion whether it is in the reading of a text or the production of one.

Nishigaki, Chuyo, Leishman, and Hasegawa (2007) provided much support for the findings of these studies. The authors pointed to a number of weaknesses they found in Japanese writing, which included little variety in transitional signals and the repeated use of the same words. Additionally, they added that a lack of collocation knowledge may be a contributing factor to the Japanese learners' limited vocabulary. Attributing such errors to L2 proficiency with regard to Japanese learners does appear to be likely as even in Japanese "synonymous repetition is useful for avoiding boring text infested by reiteration while maintaining the effect of clarification and emphasis" (Maynard, 1998, p. 111). This means Japanese are without a doubt familiar with this feature of language but simply do not know how to utilize it in English. Nevertheless, there could still be some L1 transfer at play here as repeated phrases and words is also a common feature of Japanese texts, which is, according to Maynard (1998), used for cohesive effect. Accordingly, assuming all errors at this level are due to the learners' lack of language skills may be inaccurate.

In Yamashita's (2015) study, a keyword analysis was conducted in which the theme-setting keywords and argument-setting keywords were investigated. Taking into consideration content schemata that formed the same semantic categories, Yamashita found the Japanese learner's text lacked focus. According to Yamashita, the inability to use synonyms effectively not only affected the cohesion of the text at the micro-level but also prevented the student from expressing him/herself coherently.

Definite/Indefinite articles

The complexity of the article system has long been regarded as one of the more challenging aspects of the English language for L2 learners (Anderson, 1984; Master, 2002), and JEFL learners are no exception (see, for example, Bryant, 1984; Butler, 2002; Yamada & Matsuura, 1982). Unlike explicit pronoun-based anaphors, which are generally more comprehensible to L2 learners but are limited in cohesive capability, definite noun phrases (NPs) are capable of accessing "antecedents across greater text distances" and thus play an important role in forming a text's overall cohesiveness (Dowse, 2017, p. 281). While, as far as I am aware, no study has specifically investigated the use of articles by Japanese L2 writers for cohesive purposes[7], there are studies that have looked at whether or not Japanese recognize and/or comprehend the cohesion being formed by means of definite and indefinite articles.

7 In his 1984 study, Bryant looked at article usage in Japanese L2 writers' English texts; however, his investigation was more concerned with their grammatical/idiomatic errors rather than errors in cohesion.

Butler (2002), for example, investigated 80 Japanese of lower to upper-intermediate English proficiency (60 of whom were EFL learners) and the metalinguistic knowledge these learners employed to understand the English article system. The results showed that while a higher proficiency in English did result in a higher accuracy, there remained a "large gap" in comprehension when compared to NESs. Butler hypothesized that this "gap" may be the manifestation of "structural, semantic, and pragmatic differences between English and Japanese" (p. 472).

In a recent study, Dowse (2017) looked at the ability of 22 JEFL learners to recognize and comprehend definite NPs in a reading task. In her investigation, participants were asked to read short English passages that contained anaphoric reference marked with definite or indefinite articles and judge their grammaticality. The results were slightly different from Butler's, as they showed that the participants were able to accurately assess the majority of the texts whether or not the article used in the text was accurate. Based on these results, Dowse concluded that the JEFL learners' comprehension of a text was not dependent on their discernment of definiteness for one of two reasons: 1) "[Japanese] read . . . articles but are not sensitive to the feature of definiteness," or 2) "[Japanese] completely ignore . . . articles" (p. 290). While Butler found JEFL learners struggled to comprehend article usage, Dowse's study demonstrated that erroneous use of articles (e.g., an indefinite article in a definite anaphoric context) did not seem to be noticed by the JEFL learners. Though Dowse did not offer possible reasons as to why this might be the case, she did conclude that native speakers of Japanese who teach English may also be incapable of detecting errors in articles, which could have a negative effect on their students' writing. This suggests that Dowse regards Japanese as a generalized group that struggles with the English article system, thus aligning herself with past studies that have considered the interference of the L1 as the source of these struggles.

Cultural rhetorical tendencies & idiomatic errors

Achiba and Kuromiya (1983) identified a number of what they regarded as intralingual errors in their study of 130 essays written by Japanese university students studying in the United States (ESL context). One error the authors observed was the inclusion of didactic remarks towards the end of the essays where the Japanese writer would make suggestions like, "you should get a good education and you shouldn't forget to make efforts towards jobs everyday" (p. 10). Though Achiba and Kuromiya did not explicitly explain why they considered this an intralingual error, looking at other literature shows that it is not unusual to find such didactic comments in Japanese discourse. Borrowed from ancient Buddhist teachings,

instructional remarks became a common rhetorical feature in Japanese literature and oratory performances (Konishi, 1986; Yip, 2016) and remain a popular fixture in Japanese discourse today (Clarence-Smith, 2009; Maynard, 2002).

Achiba and Kuromiya also observed excessive hedging, such as "as you know" and "I think" in the Japanese L2 learners' English texts, which has been used as linguistic evidence to support the notion of Japanese vagueness and indirectness (see Okabe, 1983; Sasagawa, 1996). As Achiba and Kuromiya explained, hedging (e.g., "as you know") is very common in Japanese writing and speeches and could thus account for its overuse in Japanese English writing. Prevalence for hedging in Japanese English writing has also been supported by Connor (1996) and Hinkel (1997), for example, who both found a greater use of hedges in English written by Japanese than by Ll English speakers.

In addition to didactic remarks and hedging, Achiba and Kuromiya found a preferential placement of the subordinate clause before the main clause in the Japanese English writing. In Japanese, the subordinate clause is typically placed in front of the main clause, but, in English, the main clause usually comes first. When the order is reversed, however, a comma is needed between the subordinate and main clauses. If not included, the sentence is not only idiomatically awkward but also grammatically incorrect. In contrast, the comma is not necessary in Japanese syntax. The authors found that the Japanese writers tended to reverse the placement of subordinate clauses in their English writing as they would when writing in Japanese. Furthermore, the comma between the subordinate and main clauses was often left out.

Oi (1986), who compared organizational patterns of Japanese English writing with those of Japanese, investigated what she referred to as "cultural rhetorical tendencies" (p. 28) at the textual level, which included hedging (an example of Japanese indirectness and vagueness according to other studies, as mentioned earlier) and revealed a significant use of hedging in Japanese writing. This, however, did not appear to be transferred over into Japanese L2 learners' English writing, though hedging occurred slightly more frequently in the Japanese English writing than in the Ll English writing. Oi also looked at the use of understatements and overstatements (i.e., superlatives and hyperbolic expressions) between the groups. Like hedging, these phenomena have been used to demonstrate the supposed vague and indirect nature of Japanese (see Bruch, 1989; Okabe, 1983). Oi found that while the use of superlatives and hyperbolic expressions were commonplace in the Ll English writing, they were extremely rare in both the Japanese English

writing and the Japanese writing. Based on her findings, of the various features investigated, Oi concluded that Japanese clearly write differently in English than they do in Japanese, which suggests that they are aware these two languages have different expectations but are not always clear on what those expectations are.

Other scholars, such as Kamimura and Oi (1998) and Lee (2011), have since confirmed many of Oi's (1986) conclusions on cultural rhetorical tendencies. In their study of 22 L1 English-speaking high school seniors and 30 sophomore Japanese college students' texts, Kamimura and Oi found the use of emphatic devices and superlatives in the L1 English-speakers' writing and a high use of hedging in the Japanese English writing. Lee (2011) found a higher number of "boosters" in English writing across genres while such devices were rarely employed in Japanese writing. Lee claimed this to be characteristic of Japanese rhetoric.

Additionally, Kamimura and Oi (1998) remarked on the modes of persuasion used by both groups. They observed a prominent use of rational appeals by the L1 English speakers while the Japanese gravitated more towards affective appeals. The authors accounted for this difference by looking at cultural values. They argued that "empathy" is a Japanese cultural value held in high regard due to the emphasis on group orientation in Japanese culture, while Western cultures admire logic. These are distinctions between Japanese and Western rhetoric that are commonly made by others (see Day, 1996; Gao, 2005; Maynard, 1998; Rose, 1996), and there is certainly reason to believe that empathy plays an important part in Japanese rhetoric when considering the previously mentioned Japanese literary notion yojō.

Though not exclusively concerned with Japanese writing, Hinkel (2002) compares English texts written by Japanese L2 English learners with those written by native speakers of English. Her comprehensive study included learners from a variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds (corpus size approximately 435,000 words), and compared the uses of 68 linguistic and rhetorical features in L2 texts written by advanced L2 learners of English to those in the essays of L1 English speakers. Like many contrastive studies, Hinkel too alluded to L1 transfer as the principal culprit of the majority of errors observed in the L2 writers' English texts.

In the case of English texts written by Japanese, Hinkel (2002) found significant differences in the use of second- and third-person pronouns compared to English written by L1 speakers. Overall, the Japanese English texts had a higher frequency rate of second- and third-person pronouns, which could reasonably point to L1 transfer, as Hinkel suggested. Maynard (1997) stressed that Japanese writers do

not focus on themselves but rather on people, things, and events external to the current discourse, and thus second and third-person pronouns are frequent in Japanese writing. Accordingly, Hinkel argued that the use of second- and third-person pronouns was a manifestation of Japanese rhetoric, which seeks to involve the reader and establish solidarity between the writer and the reader.

Hinkel (2002) also noticed significantly more use of vague nouns (i.e., generic nouns that lack homogenous meaning and are dependent on context) in the English texts written by Japanese than in those written by L1 speakers. One possibility of this could be due to the tendency for vagueness and ambiguity in Japanese discourse as identified by others (see Okabe, 1983; Sasagawa, 1996); however, Hinkel acknowledged that, in this case, the more likely explanation for the high rates of vague nouns is "L2 writers lack more advanced and sophisticated vocabulary to be able to choose more appropriate, varied, and complex lexis to express their ideas" (p. 83), and thus attributed this particular error to L2 proficiency or, more accurately, lack thereof.

Grammatical errors

Bryant (1984) analyzed grammatical errors of Japanese writers in the ESL context and concluded that L1 transfer was largely responsible for the errors identified. For example, Bryant detected the incorrect use of "s" to signal the genitive case with inanimate objects whereas, generally speaking, "English restricts the "s-genitive" to animate objects" (p. 16). In Japanese, however, there is no distinction made and the genitive for both animate and inanimate objects is marked with the same particle "の" (no). Other examples of intralingual errors observed by Bryant included the omission of articles[8] and locative prepositions, errors in the use of singular and plural, and the unidiomatic reversal of negative clauses. Bryant argues that because many of these features are non-existent in Japanese (e.g., there are no definite and indefinite articles and no singular/plural differentiation in Japanese), these types of errors frequently occur in Japanese L2 learners' English writing. This position has been taken by many others, in particular with reference to the use of articles by Japanese English learners (see Bertekua, 1974; Cohen, 1998; Luk & Shirai, 2009; Master, 1987).

8 Unlike the previously discussed studies about JEFL learners' understanding of English articles, Bryant did not consider the role articles play in creating (or inhibiting) cohesion and how Japanese perceive them but rather looked more at their grammatical/idiomatic usage by Japanese writers of English.

Bryant (1984) also suggests that, in the case of other errors, English language learners may be applying grammatical rules of their L1 to the L2. For example, while it is entirely permissible to drop prepositions in Japanese without impacting meaning, the same is not true of English. In the Japanese sentence 東京に行きます (Tokyo ni ikimasu)[9] the preposition "に" (ni) can be omitted: 東京行きます (Tokyo ikimasu). In doing so, the utterance does not lose its meaning and remains wholly comprehensible. The same could not be said of English, however, as prepositions in English can significantly influence the meaning of an utterance and omitting them would cause meaning to be very ambiguous. Bryant pointed to negative clause structure to further illustrate how Japanese L2 English learners apply Japanese grammar to English. Bryant explained that while in English the mental predicate is regularly negated, in Japanese it is the reported thought that is negated, which, he claimed, resulted in Japanese writers producing English sentences like I think it won't rain tomorrow as opposed to the (equally or) more idiomatic I don't think it will rain tomorrow (known in the linguistic literature as "NEG-raising").

Bryant's diagnosis is supported by a small survey among three Japanese language teachers and linguists, who were asked to judge the following sentences as "preferred," "awkward," or "never preferred."

1) 明日は雨が降らないと思います。
(Ashita wa ame ga furanai to omoimasu.)[10]

2) 明日は雨が降ると思いません。
(Ashita wa ame ga furu to omoimasen.)[11]

The participants unanimously stated that sentence one is "preferred," while sentence two is "awkward." One participant explained that in certain situations where argument and opposition is warranted and expected, such as a courtroom, it is permissible to negate the predicate, i.e., 思いません (omoimasen), but in social interactions it is never acceptable. An important point here is that due to Japanese word order constraints ("SOV"), the mental predicate always follows the reported thought. While it may be true that in English this order does not allow NEG-raising

9 [I'm] go(ing) to Tokyo.

10 [I] think it won't rain tomorrow.

11 [I] don't think it will rain tomorrow.

either ("It is going to rain, I don't think," cannot mean "It is going to rain, I think"), it is also true that because of this the NEG-raising phenomenon is not at all present in Japanese. Thus, there are indeed differences in linguistic experience of NEG-raising between English and Japanese speakers, which may plausibly be invoked as an explanation for its non-use in Japanese writers' English texts.

Looking at the frequency rate of adjectives and adverbs, Hinkel (2002) observed that the rate of attributive adjectives in the Japanese English texts was significantly higher than in the texts written by L1 speakers. This was, according to Hinkel, due to the function of Japanese adjectives: "[I]n Japanese, adjectives can also perform the function of nouns and are used in different contexts than attributive descriptions in English" (Hinkel, 2002, p. 173). She concluded that this could account for why Japanese tended to use attributive adjectives in other forms that are regarded as grammatically incorrect in English while considered perfectly acceptable when done in Japanese. Hinkel also found differences in adverb placement between the two groups. Once again referring back to the L1, Hinkel explained that Japanese adverbs modify whole clauses, but stative verbs and verb phrases can also be modified by adverbs. She implied the differences in the function of adverbs in Japanese compared to English could possibly account for why errors in adverb placement are prevalent in Japanese English writing.

Issues of Contrastive Studies of Sentence-level & Textual Features

Inaccurate generalizations

Though the findings of these studies have presented some insight into generalizable errors of Japanese English writing, they have in many ways raised more questions, and, at times, concerns, than provided answers. For example, many have pointed to hedging as a linguistic feature that characterizes Japanese rhetorical values. This implies that the use of hedges in discourse is more of the norm in Japanese than it is in English; however, hedges are used extensively in English writing by L1 speakers (Swales, 1990; Myers, 1989) and can be used for a wide range of rhetorical purposes (Hyland, 1996). In fact, Hyland argued that hedging is a convention of academic writing and that it plays a "critical role" (p. 26) in English. Thus, while hedging may very well indeed be a common characteristic in Japanese discourse, it is clear that it serves an important role in English discourse as well. The appropriateness of its use, however, seems to depend on a number of factors, such as genre, individualistic style, and context (Swales 1990; Hyland, 1996). Accordingly, simply comparing frequency rates does not point to any reliable phenomena and can therefore not be considered a valid method for measuring the extent of or even for identifying

L1 transfer. This is further evidenced by the fact that other studies have found no significant difference between the rate of hedges used in English texts written by Japanese and those written by L1 speakers (see, for example, Hinkel, 2002).

Bias/Stereotypes

Many of these studies are also plagued by bias and stereotypes that often end up distorting the authors' interpretations of their results. Unlike past contrastive studies that have been accused of promoting the superiority of English (as discussed earlier), studies between Japanese and English could be charged with propagating the central claim of 日本人論 (nihonjinron), which essentially positions the Japanese language and culture as unique constructs and contributes to the Japanese "Us" against the non-Japanese "Them" dichotomy imbedded deeply in the Japanese psyche (Dale, 1986). A popular essentialist theory (Sugimoto, 1999), nihonjinron is, unsurprisingly, fiercely debated and often criticized as at best a "myth" and at worst an excuse for nationalistic and racist political and social ideologies (see Befu, 1992, 2001; Dale, 1986; Stronach, 1995). Kamimura and Oi's (1998) assertion that empathy is unique to Japanese culture strongly aligns itself with the tenants of nihonjinron and would suggest that people of other cultures are not as empathetic as Japanese. But, even if we are not to go into the essentialist position of such a claim, an empathic appeal is certainly not exclusive to Japanese rhetoric. Western rhetoric, for example, has acknowledged the role emotion plays in affecting an audience since the days of the Greeks.

Aristotle presented three modes of persuasion: 1) logos, an appeal to logic, 2) ethos, an appeal to authority, and 3) pathos, an appeal to emotion, which can, according to Aristotle, be accomplished in a number of ways, including by eliciting a compassionate or empathetic response. Admittedly, Aristotle saw pathos (and ethos) as being insufficient on its own to prove an argument (Gross & Dascal, 2001), and he cautioned against its overuse to the point of manipulating the audience; he rejected the use of logical fallacies, such as ad hominem, which seek to discredit through personal attacks. Accordingly, Aristotle believed that rhetorical arguments should follow logic, or logos, with pathos and ethos acting as complements. Nonetheless, Aristotle recognized the contributions pathos can make in a persuasion when utilized ethically (Dow, 2007). Thus, to imply that empathy is somehow specific to Japanese rhetoric is an erroneous premise on which Kamimura and Oi (1998) based their conclusion. Perhaps the views on what constitute the ethical use of empathy may differ between Japanese and Western rhetoric, however, Kamimura and Oi

did not touch upon this subject and it is far too complex for this study to explore. Clearly, however, claiming "empathy" as a uniquely Japanese value is a precarious slope that leads to all sorts of essentialist and biased perceptions.

L1 transfer

Finally, most of these studies have looked back to the learners' L1, i.e., Japanese, as the origin for many of the observed errors. And, while in some cases the L1 could possibly be the cause of certain errors, such as negative clause structure, it cannot always account for all of the errors identified by the authors despite their insistence on such a claim because "many syntactic and lexical features of English do not exist in other languages," such as Japanese (Hinkel, 2002; p. 64). Bryant (1984) and others, however, have used the nonexistence of certain features in the L1 to explain a number of types of errors found in L2 writers' texts. The omission of definite and indefinite articles by Japanese, for example, has often been blamed on the fact that the Japanese language lacks such a lexical feature. However, if we are to return, for a moment, to the belief that ideas in one culture cannot be accurately articulated in another culture using the same terms (Day, 1996; Wierzbicka, 1997), we can see how reducing Japanese to a language that lacks articles implies they lack the capacity to linguistically distinguish between the specific and nonspecific, which is, of course, not the case.

While the Japanese language may not have a Japanese equivalent to the English "the" or "a/an," the concepts these articles portray can be linguistically expressed in Japanese as well. The particles "が" (ga) and "は" (wa) are used for marking the distinction between what is mentioned for the first time and what is mentioned the second time (Maynard, 1998). For example, much in the same way the article "a" refers to a nonspecific notion within a discourse, the Japanese "ga," though admittedly not overtly parallel to the English article, functions in a comparable matter to convey a somewhat similar feeling of non-specificity. This demonstrates the Japanese are, in fact, familiar with linguistically expressing the differences of something that is specific and not specific in discourse.

Another issue with attributing errors to L1 transfer is the fact that often times the hypothesis simply does not hold. Hinkel (2002), for example, explained the cause for why the Japanese writers overemploying second- and third-person pronouns in her study by means of L1 transfer, or, more specifically, the overuse of "we" as a reflection of the Japanese cultural value of group orientation, and overuse of "you" as a way to "promote group solidarity between the writer and reader" (Hinkel, 2002, p. 83). However, such an explanation cannot easily account for why the Japanese

also used first-person pronouns at a much higher rate than their L1 counterparts. This is because, according to Maynard's (1997) assessment of Japanese discourse, Japanese writers generally do not focus on themselves. If this is in fact the case, there should have been a significantly smaller number of first-person pronouns when compared to L1 speakers' writing, especially if we are to suggest that the overuse of second- and third-person pronouns was a result of the Japanese writer employing common features of his/her L1 to the L2. Hinkel's findings, however, did not present these results. On the contrary, she found that the Japanese writers used first-person pronouns nearly 40% more frequently than L1 English speakers but offered no explanation for these unexpected results nor attempted to address this contradiction in any sort of fashion.

Shortfalls such as these show that sentence-level and textual errors in Japanese English texts simply cannot consistently or reliably identify areas in which Japanese L2 English learners struggle in their writing, and any attempt to account for these characteristics has brought about reductive, and, at times, inaccurate, descriptions of both Japanese and English discourse.

Cohesion vs. coherence

Most of the contrastive studies that have looked at Japanese and English have, at the very least, implied that cohesion at the micro-level helps in the formation of coherence at the macro-level (see Nishigaki, Chuyo, Leishman, & Hasegawa, 2007; Yamashita, 2015). Halliday and Hasan (1976) most famously made this postulation. Likewise, Hoey (1991) claimed that lexical relations are a major characteristic of coherent discourse. Though such claims would appear to be common sense, there is evidence to suggest otherwise.

In an experimental study conducted by Crewe, Wright, and Leung (1985), for example, two groups of students were presented with two versions of the same text—one group was given a version with its original conjunctions/connectors and the other group a version with the conjunctions/connectors omitted. Members of each group read their assigned text and answered the same set of comprehension questions. The results showed no statistical difference in the level of comprehension between the two groups. The researchers thus concluded that these sorts of cohesive devices are not necessary for linking ideas and forming/maintaining the coherence of a text. And several others have further substantiated this belief.

Carrell (1982), one of the earliest scholars to shed light on this issue, argued that cohesion is not solely a product of grammatical and lexical connectives but the result of outside schema that contribute to connecting ideas within a text (in some ways resembling CG theory). Widdowson (1978), for example, demonstrated how schema works to create coherence in discourse:

A: That's the telephone.
B: I'm in the bath.
A: Okay.

In this illustration, the exchange is entirely coherent, yet it does not contain a single overt cohesive device. According to Maynard (1998), this type of implicit cohesion requires broad cultural knowledge, which could account for why L2 learners feel the need to explicitly connect sentences, as they lack such knowledge. It is certainly true that in many structures understanding necessitates a shared cultural knowledge. Biblical and literary references, for example, demand that the listener/reader be familiar with the sources. Television shows and movies are filled with such references. One such instance can be found in the popular television series *The Flash* where a character remarks on the Flash's ability to walk on water: "You can walk on water. Puts you in pretty interesting company" (Down, 2014). Without the biblical background it would be impossible to understand the "interesting company" is referring to Jesus Christ. For most L1 English speakers, even those without a religious background, the intended meaning is perfectly clear. Likewise, simply uttering the words, "Sour grapes" elicits an immediate understanding of the action of reducing the significance or importance of something after finding one cannot have it. Originating from Aesop's Fable *The Fox and the Grapes*, the term "sour grapes" is regularly used in English-speaking cultures. Though not all L1 speakers may be familiar with its origin, it would not be too far of a leap to state that most understand the reference. In these examples, coherence clearly demands "broad cultural knowledge," so, Maynard's (1998) assertion can be accepted, but only partly.

"Broad cultural knowledge" is not always necessary. Inside jokes, for example, require a shared experience between the participants in a communicative interaction but not necessarily "cultural knowledge." Understanding in such a situation is rooted in mutuality. The commonalities between the speaker/writer and listener/reader help to create meaning in addition to the linguistic output, demonstrating, once again, the applicability of CG theory to contrastive rhetoric studies. Claiming that coherence requires broad cultural knowledge is precarious, as it overemphasizes cultural factors in favor of other influences occurring—a

common criticism of contrastive rhetoric (see Connor, 1996; Kubota, 1997; Matsuda, 2001). Considering that coherence, however, is established through CG turns us away from a culturally reliant notion to a less biased and more inclusive viewpoint of how a writer creates meaning in a text.

Clearly, coherence does not depend on cohesive devices. Likewise, it has also been shown that the occurrence of cohesion does not automatically result in coherence. Kolln (1999) demonstrated this in the following: *My computer is on my desk. My desk is made of oak. Tall oaks grow from little acorns*. In this example, we can see how Kolln incorporated lexical repetition, i.e., "my desk" and "oak," to give the illusion of coherence; however, clearly the ideas in each sentence are not connected, despite the cohesive device used.

Examples such as these demonstrate how cohesion and coherence are not necessarily codependent. They can, in fact, act exclusively from one another. This is due to the fact of not only cultural knowledge, but of general commonalities, often times culturally exclusive, between the participants of an interaction working to create meaning and understanding rather than linguistic elements alone. As Maynard (1998) indicated, cohesive devices do not really "connect" sentences; rather, they simply signal the writer's decision of expressing it linguistically. Additionally, a lack of cohesive links does not automatically result in an incoherent sequence. A text may still be coherent without them (Crewe, Wright, & Leung, 1985). As Brown and Yule (1983) noted, although a discourse structure may have "no formal linguistic links connecting contiguous linguistic strings, the fact of their contiguity leads us to interpret them as connected" (p. 224). As a result, relying on the analysis of cohesive devices may in fact not be the best approach to understanding the structure, let alone the coherence, of a text. In fact, they cannot even reliably describe how a text is structured.

To illustrate, consider the following sentence: *Because he failed the exam, he cannot go to university*. In this statement, the causal clause is positioned at the beginning. In doing so, emphasis is placed on the cause of the result. However, if the clauses are reversed like so, *He cannot go to university because he failed the exam*, the result is now stressed over the cause. Accordingly, these two sentences have a different rhetorical effect and convey meaning in an ever-so-slightly different manner. Therefore, if we were to just consider the frequency of conjunction usage, very little would be understood of the structure, and even looking at the position of the conjunction, as Narita, Sato, and Sugiura (2004) did, does not really tell us much about the intended rhetorical effect.

Granted, cohesion and coherence may appear to overlap, and, in fact, the literature often has assumed that they may coincide (see Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Hoey, 1991; Nishigaki, Chuyo, Leishman, & Hasegawa, 2007; Yamashita, 2015). But while cohesion is, for the most part, a tangible and discernable phenomenon, coherence is less so and is thus more difficult to define. One thing is for sure, however: coherence and cohesion are necessary elements for any text to have in order to be recognized as "good" writing (Tillema, 2012). Yet, it is also clear that investigating one will not automatically lead into an investigation of the other. In their attempt to understand why Japanese English writing appears to be less coherent than that of texts written by NESs, the above studies have tended to focus on sentence-level (mostly explicit) cohesion. Even the investigations into more implicit cohesion (e.g., anaphoric reference) that could play a larger role in the overall structure and coherence of a text were more focused on the degree to which JEFL learners were aware of and/or comprehended those features. In other words, they looked at whether or not and/or how L2 learners perceived cohesion rather than how the learners did or did not utilize such devices to create cohesion.

Additional issues

In addition to the number of issues discussed regarding past studies between Japanese and English writing, one final shortfall must be noted: how the research was carried out. For example, sample sizes of many of these studies are rather small. Miyake's (2007) study was limited to 11 essays; Sasaki (2000) only examined 12 texts (four in each corpus); Yamashita's (2015) study was, as she admitted, preliminary and only compared one English text written by a Japanese L2 writer with another written by an L1 English speaker. O'Riordan's (1999) study only compared four texts. In other studies, the corpora to be compared did not have appropriate tertia comparationis (Connor & Moreno, 2005). These studies did not take into account a number of variables, such as genre, topic, and writers' proficiency levels, in their designs (see Hinds, 1983a, 1983b; Kamimura & Oi, 1998; Kobayshi, 1984; Lee, 2011; Rinnert, Kobayashi, & Katayama, 2015; Sasaki, 2000; Yamashita, 2015) and thus the corpora were not in fact comparable, according to Connor and Moreno (2005). Many studies in this field relied on convenience sampling, such as Stapleton (2001) and Haenouchi and Ichinose (2010) who collected texts from participants all within the same institution, and, in some cases the participants all came from the same department (e.g., Iwamoto, 2006). These studies attempted to make generalizations but convenience sampling makes it difficult to generalize results.

On the other hand, other studies (see Achiba & Kuromiya, 1983; Hinkel, 2002; Nishigaki, Chujo, Leishman, & Hasegawa, 2007) were quite comprehensive and their extensiveness was perhaps their limitation. Hinkel (2002), for example, compared English texts written by native speakers of Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, Indian, and Arabic with those written by native speakers of English. Assumedly, Hinkel does not have a background in all, if any, of these languages, thus she regularly fell back on literature and assumptions in her analyses.

Another limitation of contrastive studies between Japanese and English writing is that they are not exploratory—they use a set of predetermined features that had been identified by previous literature and that had long been recognized as problem areas for L2 English learners (see Achiba & Kuromiya, 1983; Hinkel, 2002; Miyake, 2007; Nishigaki, Chujo, Leishman, & Hasegawa, 2007; Sasaki & Hirose, 1996). While this is not in and of itself a bad approach, sometimes it is not so much about specific locations on a map but more about exploring and charting locations that have yet to be discovered. This is even more so the case when the map is dated and does not include alternative routes and newly discovered regions.

Finally, many of the studies conducted in this field simply lack rigor. For example, some of the quantitative results offered only simple comparisons of percentages and did not apply statistically rigorous tests (e.g., Nishigaki & Leishman, 2001; Lee, 2011) while others were purely qualitative and based entirely on the authors' subjective observations (see Achiba & Kuromiya, 1983; Matsuda, 2001; Rinnert, Kobayashi, & Katayama, 2015; Stapleton, 2001). Furthermore, measures that are fairly standard in research to ensure reliable results were sometimes ignored, or at the very least, not mentioned, such as normalizing the data (e.g., Bryant, 1984; Kamimura & Oi, 1998; Nishigaki, Chujo, Leishman, & Hasegawa, 2007; Sasaki, 2000) and testing for inter-rater reliability (see Haenouchi & Ichinose, 2010; Iwamoto, 2006; Kobayashi, 1984; Matsuda, 2001; Miyake, 2007; Miyasato, 2000; Oi, 1986; O'Riordan, 1999; Rinnert, Kobayashi, & Katayama, 2015[12]).

Summary

There is no doubt that contrastive studies between Japanese and English have contributed significantly to our understanding of both languages. But the complexities and fluidity of language have made it rather difficult to pinpoint the specific features with which Japanese struggle when writing in English. Nevertheless, it has been made abundantly clear that Japanese English writing is

12 The L2 texts were tested for inter-rater reliability but the L1 texts were not.

consistently perceived as "illogical" and "ambiguous" or perhaps more accurately, incoherent, relative to that of NESs' writing (see Achiba & Kuromiya, 1983; Atkinson, 1997; Connor, 2005; Davies, 1998; Easton, 1982; Harder & Harder, 1982; Hinds, 1976, 1980, 1983a, 1983b, 1987, 1990; Kunihiro, 1976; Nishigaki & Leishman, 2001; Nishihara, 1990; Oi, 1986; Oi & Kamimura, 1998; O'Riordan, 1999), but no study thus far has been extensive enough to offer more than suggestive reasons as to why this might be the case.

The majority of these studies have relied heavily on discourse analysis, often not adopting precautions in research design to assure the replicability of the study, such as inter-rater reliability. The lack of rigor has resulted in discrepancies across the literature, with some studies suggesting that Japanese L2 learners apply traditional Japanese organizational patterns (e.g., ki-shō-ten-ketsu) and inductive approaches to their English writing (see Achiba & Kuromiya, 1983; Easton, 1982; Haenouchi & Ichinose, 2010; Iwamoto, 2006; Nishigaki & Leishman, 2001), which they claim could account for the apparent incoherence of Japanese English writing. Others, however, have found that such patterns are not typical of Japanese writing and that standard conventions and rhetorical/organizational patterns of English can also be commonplace in Japanese, particularly in academic writing (see Kobayashi, 1984; Kubota, 1997; Matsunaga, 1999; Miyake, 2007) or even that rhetorical/organizational patterns are not as influential in determining the assessment of a text as much as other factors are (see Hirose, 2003). Findings such as these then make it difficult to generalize Japanese writing as "illogical," "inductive," "circular," etc. and would therefore not reliably account for why their English writing does not satisfy the conventions and rhetorical expectations of English.

Other studies have focused their investigations at the micro-level and have looked at cohesive devices in an attempt to quantify differences between Japanese English writing and L1 English speakers' writing (see Butler, 2002; Connor, 1984; Dowse, 2017; Hinkel, 2001; Narita, Sato, & Sugiura, 2004; Nishigaki & Leishman, 1998, 2001; Nishigaki, Chujo, Leishman, & Hasegawa, 2007; Oi, 1986; Yamashita, 2015). Though many of these studies have shown a tendency for over-explicit linkage between adjacent sentences with the use of connectors, lack of variety in transition usage, and weaknesses in ellipsis and synonym substitution and even incognizance of definite/indefinite article reference among JEFL learners, they still have not adequately identified exactly what is causing Japanese English writing to feel less coherent than the writing of that done by L1 English speakers. One reason for this deficit is the fact that many of these studies did not expand beyond the explicit cohesion formed at the micro-level (see Hinkel, 2001; Nishigaki & Leishman, 1998,

2001; Oi, 1986). However, those studies that have been based on the idea that cohesion at the micro-level may help in the formation of coherence at the macro-level (see Nishigaki, Chujo, McGoldrick-Leishman, & Hasegawa, 2007; Yamashita, 2015) are rooted in an erroneous premise. This is because though cohesive devices may linguistically signal a writer's decision of expressing a connection between two ideas, they do not necessarily connect them (Carrell, 1982; Maynard, 1998). Other studies entertained notions of cohesion that tend to be more implicit, such as ellipsis, repetition, and article usage. While cohesive ties created with these types of devices are more likely to affect coherence, the studies that investigated such cohesion stopped just short of looking beyond their local occurrences, that is, they remained at the micro-level. Thus, the focus was placed on the cohesive devices themselves rather than on how the cohesion and structure of a text work to bring about an overall coherent piece of writing. As a result, these studies have not been able to accurately account for why Japanese English writing is regarded as less coherent than that of L1 speakers' writing.

Finally, in their efforts to seek out and identify origins of the errors observed in Japanese English writing, most of these studies, from those focused on rhetorical/organizational patterns to those concerned more with micro-level errors, such as idiomatic, grammatical, and cohesion, have been guilty of reducing Japanese L2 writers' errors to L1 transfer and cultural difference. This has led numerous studies down a dangerous path littered with bias and subjectivity. It certainly appears that scholars in this field have overly concerned themselves with the origins of errors, which have yet to be empirically identified, bringing about inaccurate and contradictory interpretations of the results of these studies. These inaccuracies and contradictions in the literature have just led to more confusion and frustration, which has resulted in the field slowly dwindling, as is evidenced by the significant decrease in contrastive studies between Japanese and English over recent years.

To address these critical shortcomings, it is necessary to design a study that can accomplish two things. First, since overgeneralizations of languages and cultures appears to be a common pitfall of contrastive studies, the only way out is to take a step back and approach the issue in more fundamental terms. Rather than looking at cultural and linguistic influences, what needs to be done is a study designed on basic communication principles. As has been shown, CG theory is exceedingly suitable for the contrastive context. Therefore, I construct this contrastive study within this theoretical framework, i.e., CG, in order to avoid the precarious territory of cultural and linguistic transfer and thereby offer results that are less concerned with stereotyping large cultures and attributing errors to overgeneralizations

of Japanese rhetoric and culture and more so with the basic act of meaningful communicative interaction between two individuals or, in the case of my study, two groups (i.e., Japanese L2 writers and L1 English-speaking readers), as it is the outcome of this interaction that dictates whether or not a text will be perceived as coherent.

Second, it is clear that an investigation that does not take into account both micro- and macro-level features will likely be unable to effectively identify the anomalies that could plausibly account for incoherence in the JEFL writers' texts. Thus, features at the micro- and macro-levels of discourse must be investigated, not as separate or independent entities, but as symmetrically reliant features that work throughout a text to effectively unite lexical, grammatical, and structural features with the ideas and knowledge of both the reader and writer into a single, mutually comprehensible whole (see McCarthy, 1991; van Dijk, 1973, 1977). By adopting RST as its analytical framework, it is my hope that this study will be able to more effectively explore features beyond general organizational/rhetorical patterns, grammatical correctness, or even idiomaticity of Japanese English writing. Accordingly, I believe this type of analysis will be better adept at identifying plausible reasons as to why the English texts of Japanese writers often times do not meet the rhetorical expectations of English and are in fact regularly seen as "illogical," "ambiguous," and "incoherent" when compared to that of NESs' writing.

By embarking from the theoretical position of CG and adopting RST as its analytical framework, I hope to better understand what conventions and unarticulated values of English discourse are slipping past notice; these need to be better explicated to the Japanese L2 writer in the English writing classroom, not necessarily because they are Japanese and their language/culture is interfering with their English, but because they simply do not share enough common ground with NESs to effectively communicate with them in written form. It is therefore necessary to provide both instructors and Japanese language learners the tools to help them unearth common ground with L1 speakers of English in order to become more effective writers in the target language.

Chapter 3 | Methodology & Results

Introduction

As has been shown in Chapter 2, the majority of contrastive studies conducted between Japanese and English writing range from the objective, quantifiable measurements of sentence-level (micro) features (see Bryant, 1984; Casanave, 1994; Moriya, 1997; Nishigaki & Leishman, 2001; Oi, 1986) to the more interpretive observations of discourse analysis, i.e., macro-level (see Achiba & Kuromiya, 1983; Hirose & Sasaki, 1994; Ito, 2004; Matsumoto, 1995; Miyake, 2007; Sasaki & Hirose, 1996). Yet none thus far have been able to explicitly identify what could account for the incongruities in Japanese English writing outside grammatical and idiomatic errors. These studies have made it quite apparent that Japanese English writing is regularly regarded as illogical, ambiguous, and less coherent, especially in comparison to texts written by L1 English speakers (NESs), demonstrating issues of cohesion in Japanese English writing. Nevertheless, understanding why this is the case has proven to be more difficult.

Those that have looked at overall rhetorical/organizational patterns at the macro-level, tend to lean heavily on the hypothesis of different rhetorical expectations and conventions between English and Japanese in their explanations, frequently making overgeneralizations. Furthermore, these studies are often limited to relatively subjective approaches of discourse analysis, making their findings less reliable. Though there is plenty of anecdotal testimony from L2 learners suggesting that differences in values and expectations between languages and cultures exist (see, for example, Li, 1996; Matsuda, 2001; Shen, 1989), discrepancies in the literature and lack of empirical evidence make it difficult to come to any concrete conclusions or to pinpoint exactly with what conventions Japanese L2 writers struggle beyond the grammatical and idiomatic.

Other studies, which have attempted to analyze both micro- and macro-level features and provide more objective and quantifiable findings, have, in many cases, unfortunately, been guilty of inaccurate hypotheses, such as investigations of cohesive devices to describe coherence. These studies have failed to sufficiently explain incongruences in cohesion beyond the types and frequency of cohesive

devices used. More importantly, however, as discussed in Chapter 2, cohesion cannot easily account for coherence as cohesive devices at the micro-level do not necessarily play a role in shaping and constructing the coherence of a text at the macro-level.

We are therefore left with a dilemma: What exactly is causing Japanese English writing to be experienced as "illogical" and "incoherent" by NESs? Despite the numerous contrastive studies conducted to address this question, none have been able to provide an adequate answer. Accordingly, what is needed is a study that provides empirical and quantifiable evidence for a diagnosis that could plausibly account for why Japanese L2 English writing is simply not as "good" as that of NESs' beyond grammatical accuracy, idiomatic errors, and macro-organization by comparing features in English texts written by Japanese L2 writers (specifically, Japanese English as a Foreign Language learners, JEFL) with those in texts written by NESs. We must then ask ourselves: What conventions are slipping through—not being addressed or focused on enough—in English education in Japan? What "un-articulated" values are buried beneath the language, culture, rhetoric, or whatever it may be that is preventing JEFL writers from achieving native-like competence in English writing beyond grammatical accuracy and idiomaticity? In other words, in addition to identifying differences, it is vital to pinpoint the specific conventions JEFLs need explicated.

This chapter reports on a comparison of 44 written texts between JEFLs (N = 22) and NESs (N = 22). By adopting a quantifiable measurement of discourse features taken from Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST), I attempt to identify the distinctive features of JEFL writers' texts in comparison to those in the NESs' texts to explicate features that have not been identified in past research but that could reasonably explain the lack of coherence in English texts written by JEFL writers. A Japanese text is also used as a point of reference to qualitatively observe and discuss similarities and differences of Japanese writing and JEFL English writing (to be done in Chapter 4). What follows is a description of the data, participants, analytical framework, and statistical methods used to collect and analyze the corpora. The descriptive statistical results and quantitative comparisons based on the analytical method used will be presented at the end.

Participants & Data

Source of Data

Four hundred texts (200 NES texts and 200 JEFL texts) were randomly selected from the International Corpus Network of Asian Learners of English or ICNALE (Ishikawa, 2015). ICNALE is "a collection of controlled essays and speeches by learners of English in 10 countries and areas in Asia as well as L1 productions by 350 native-English speakers" (Ishikawa, 2015). The corpus is divided into two categories: ICNALE-Spoken and ICNALE-Written. For the purposes of this study, I only selected data from the ICNALE-Written corpus and limited this search to texts written by NESs and JEFLs. How the native-English speakers' texts were collected for the ICNALE-Written corpus is unclear, but the texts produced by Asian learners of English (ALEs) were collected following a four-point protocol: 1) Entry of personal information, 2) completion of questionnaire to measure motivation, 3) completion of a vocabulary test, and 4) submission of two essays.

Participants of ICNALE

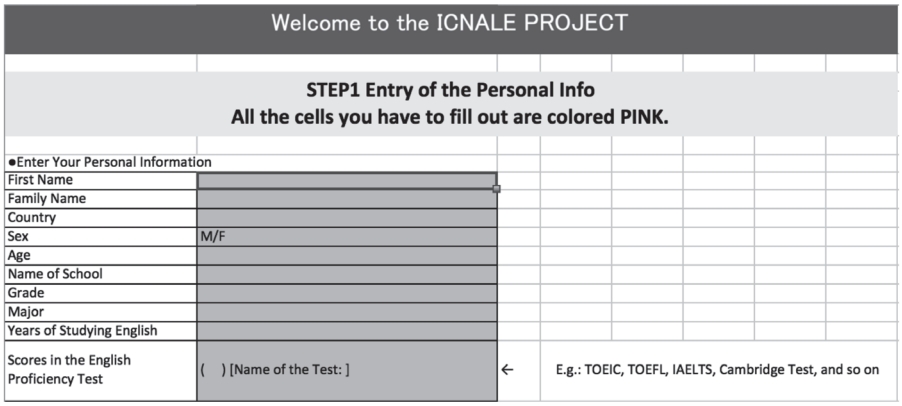
Before submitting their writing to the ICNALE-Written Corpus, ALEs are asked to download an Excel file from the ICNALE website that consists of four pages, and, on the first page, enter their personal information, including name, country, age, sex, name of school, grade, major, years of studying English, and score and type of language proficiency test (see Image 3.1). On the next page, they are asked to complete a questionnaire to measure their motivation (see Image 3.2), followed by a vocabulary test consisting of 50 questions in order to assess the participant's current vocabulary repertoire (see Image 3.3). The test is not timed, but dictionaries are not permitted.

Once these preliminary sections are completed, the participant is asked to write two 200-to-300-word essays based on the following two prompts:

> Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Use reasons and specific details to support your answer.
>
> - It is important for college students to have a part-time job.
> - Smoking should be completely banned at all restaurants in the country.

In an effort to create a reliable corpus and control the writing conditions (Ishikawa, 2015), the participant is asked to follow a set of instructions as listed on the ICNALE Project website:

1) Clarify your opinions and show the reasons for them and some examples.
2) You can use 20 to 40 minutes for each essay. This means that you have 40 to 80 minutes to complete two essays. Do not finish too early or spend too much time. Spend 20 to 40 minutes for each.
3) Never use any dictionary or reference tools.
4) Do not plagiarize anyone else's essays.
5) The length of your single essay should be from 200 to 300 words (not 200 to 300 letters). Too short or too long essays cannot be accepted. Please follow the rules rigidly. You can check the length using the word count function of MS Word.
6) You must conduct a spell check before completing your writing.
7) After conducting the spell check and word count, both of which are standard functions of MS Word, please copy your essays from MS Word to the ninth sheet of the Excel file. Also, you must record the word count of each essay at the bottom.


Welcome to the ICNALE PROJECT

STEP1 Entry of the Personal Info
All the cells you have to fill out are colored PINK.

●Enter Your Personal Information			
First Name			
Family Name			
Country			
Sex	M/F		
Age			
Name of School			
Grade			
Major			
Years of Studying English			
Scores in the English Proficiency Test	( ) [Name of the Test:]	←	E.g.: TOEIC, TOEFL, IAELTS, Cambridge Test, and so on

Figure 3.1. Screenshot of ICNALE-Written personal info page.

STEP2 Questionnaire This is an enquiry about why and how you have studied English. Fill out the pink cells with an appropriate number from 1 to 6.				
I study English because…				
1	I find pleasure when I understand the content sufficiently		6	Strongly agree
2	I want to get a better job in future.		5	Agree
3	learning content is more important than being awarded high grades		4	Somewhat agree
4	I want to be socially acknowledged.		3	Slightly agree
5	being awarded high grades is important for me.		2	Disagree
6	learning English is what we have to do anyway.		1	Strongly Disagree
7	I want to achieve a good mark in the tests			
8	I am interested in the content, even if it is difficult.			
9	learning something new is fun, even if it is difficult.			
10	I find pleasure in discovering something new.			
11	I want to get a better grade than others.			
12	increasing English knowledge is fun			
When I was an elementary (primary) school student…			6	Strongly agree
13	I often used English in class.		5	Agree
14	I often used English outside class.		4	Somewhat agree
			3	Slightly agree
When I was a junior high and high school student…			2	Disagree
15	I listened to English a lot in class.		1	Strongly disagree
16	I read English a lot in class.			
17	I spoke English a lot in class.			
18	I wrote English a lot in class.			
19	I listened to English a lot outside class.			
20	I read English a lot outside class.			
21	I spoke English a lot outside class.			
22	I wrote English a lot outside class.			
Now at college/university…				
23	I listen to English a lot in class.		6	Strongly agree
24	I read English a lot in class.		5	Agree
25	I speak English a lot in class.		4	Somewhat agree
26	I write English a lot in class.		3	Slightly agree
27	I listen to English a lot outside class.		2	Disagree
28	I read English a lot outside class.		1	Strongly disagree
29	I speak English a lot outside class.			
30	I write English a lot outside class.			
So far …				
31	I have been taught by English native speakers			
32	I have been taught English pronunciation			
33	I have been taught speaking or presentation			
34	I have been taught essay writing			

Figure 3.2. Screenshot of ICNALE-Written questionnaire page.

1. see: They saw it.	6. drive: He drives fast.
(1) cut	(1) swims
(2) waited for	(2) learns
(3) looked at	(3) throws balls
(4) started	(4) uses a car
2. time: They have a lot of time.	7. jump: She tried to jump.
(1) money	(1) lie on top of the water
(2) food	(2) get off the ground suddenly
(3) hours	(3) stop the car at the edge of the road
(4) friends	(4) move very fast
3. period: It was a difficult period.	8. shoe: Where is your shoe?
(1) question	(1) the person who looks after you
(2) time	(2) the thing you keep your money in
(3) thing to do	(3) the thing you use for writing
(4) book	(4) the thing you wear on your foot
4. figure: Is this the right figure?	9. standard: Her standards are very high.
(1) answer	(1) the bits at the back under her shoes
(2) place	(2) the marks she gets in school
(3) time	(3) the money she asks for
(4) number	(4) the levels she reaches in everything
5. poor: We are poor.	10. basis: I don't understand the basis.
(1) have no money	(1) reason
(2) feel happy	(2) words
(3) are very interested	(3) road signs
(4) do not like to work hard	(4) main part

Figure 3.3. Screenshot of the first page of five of ICNALE vocabulary test.

Pre-determined Parameters

As mentioned earlier, it is not clear if the NESs were expected to follow a similar protocol to that of the ALEs when submitting their writing. The main issue I was concerned with, however, was ensuring that the texts to be compared are in fact comparable as this is an important factor to take into consideration when comparing corpora (Connor & Moreno, 2005; James, 1980; Moreno, 2008). James argued that this is of particular importance for contrastive purposes:

> The first thing we do is make sure that we are comparing like with like: this means that the two (or more) entities to be compared, while differing in some respect, must share certain attributes. This requirement is especially strong when we are contrasting, i.e., looking for differences—since it is only against a background of sameness that differences are significant. We shall call this sameness the constant and the differences variables. (p. 169)

Accordingly, should any differences between corpora be identified, it is necessary to take a number of measures that can ensure "a background of sameness" on which the differences can be contrasted and thereby revealed to be significant or not. Therefore, though the texts in my study were randomly selected from ICNALE-Written, I set a few parameters for participants and their texts before incorporating them into my corpora.

Parameter 1

First, all texts in both corpora were to be written by undergraduates so that the ages and experiences of the NES and JEFL writers would be similar. Since the purpose of this study is to look at what could plausibly account for why Japanese English writing is regarded as less coherent and more illogical when compared to the writing of native-English speakers, it did not make sense to compare their writing to writing that had been revised, polished and/or published. After all, any piece of poorly organized and illogical writing can become more coherent and logical after multiple revisions. Furthermore, there are different expectations of "good" writing depending on the level of the writer. For example, what would be considered good writing at the high school level would not necessarily be considered good at the college level, and, at the same time, what would be considered good at the graduate level should not be expected from those at the undergraduate level. Accordingly, by limiting JEFL and NES texts written by undergraduates from the ICNALE-Written, I was able to reasonably ensure that in fact they were representative of a typical writer of that age, educational background, and experience. In this way, when I

compared the JEFL texts to the NES texts I was not setting the bar exceedingly and unrealistically high but establishing what the standard expectations are of "good" writing at their comparable level, i.e., the undergraduate level.

Parameter 2

Another important parameter was the content of the texts. As Hinkel (2002), Kegley (1986), Brown, Hilgers, and Marsella (1991) note, topics and rhetorical modes can cause a great deal of variance in text production. This is especially true in the case of L2 writers (Tsai & Cheng, 2009; Li, 2011). In an effort to avoid such extraneous variability, I chose to limit my search to the "part-time jobs" prompt. This is because the JEFL writers were more likely to perform better on this task due to the likelihood of familiarity with the topic, as well as the narrative-like rhetorical mode this task tends to lend itself towards. This belief is in accordance with Li (2011) who found that narrative tasks that are related to a writer's personal experience elicit a higher-quality written product.

Furthermore, the more familiar the topic is to the writer the more likely the writer will be able to focus on the writing itself. According to Hinkel (2002), prompts can have a heavy influence on the textual and linguistic features of a text. In other words, if the topic is overly complicated, the text will demand more complex syntactic and grammatical structures. If not properly constructed, these could certainly affect the readability and, hence, the quality of the text. As the purpose of this study is to look beyond such surface-level errors, I thought it best to avoid circumstances where there would be a higher chance of such errors occurring. An additional concern, as will be discussed later in this chapter, is that texts with poor English are difficult if not impossible to annotate within Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST), since it is not possible to know the writer's plausible intentions if the annotator cannot understand what the writer wrote. Selecting texts that were written on a topic that is simple and relatable helped to ensure that the writers were writing within their linguistic capacity. This parameter was also applied to the NES writers. This was done not for proficiency purposes but because comparing texts of the same topic would further ensure the comparability of those texts to one another as their structure is likely to be most similar.

Parameter 3

Because poor English language skills may negatively impact how effectively RST annotations can be applied to the text, it was also crucial to make sure that each JEFL text was produced by a writer with a relatively proficient command of the English language, as studies have shown that linguistic competence is positively

correlated to writing performance (Reed, 1992; Sasaki & Hirose, 1996; Tillema, 2012). Thus, another parameter set specifically for JEFL texts was that the writer had to demonstrate a B1 level or above in the Common European Framework (CEFR), at which level the writer should demonstrate the ability to "write straightforward connected texts on a range of familiar subjects within his field of interest, by linking a series of shorter discrete elements into a linear sequence" (Council of Europe, 2001). According to CEFR, writers below this level may "show coherence problems which makes the text hard to understand." Therefore, limiting my corpus to JEFL texts that were written by writers who could effectively produce longer, more coherent texts assisted in providing me with the data I needed to investigate the rhetorical structure of a text beyond local features. CEFR band scores for individual writers are provided by ICNALE.

Two additional parameters were set for NES texts. First, since college level information is not available for native-English speakers in the ICNALE, I determined the age of the writer must be between 18 to 24 years of age, which is the standard age range for an undergraduate student (NCES, 2015). Based on this criterion, 100 of the 200 NES texts available in ICNALE-Written were selected.

The second parameter was that the texts must be regarded as "good" writing by other native-English speakers. To identify which texts are "good," a questionnaire with all 100 texts and a one-to-five scale (one being poor and five being excellent) was designed on Google Forms and emailed to three native-English speakers, which implies that maximum score was 15. They were asked to intuitively evaluate the texts and rate each text according to the provided scale. "Good" texts had scores of 1.8 standard deviations or more above the mean (the mean for the 100 texts was 10.2). In other words, to be regarded as "good," the texts must have received a 12 or better.

Data Collected for JEFL Corpus

Based on the above parameters for JEFL texts, 22 texts that met the criteria were pulled from the 200 JEFL texts that had been initially selected from the ICNALE-Written corpus. This resulted in a total number of 5763 words (median per text = 265) in the JEFL corpus. The total number of segments, i.e., EDUs, was 1173 (median per text = 26).

Data Collected for NES Corpus

The application of the above parameters to the NES corpus resulted in 44 texts, 25 of which were identified as "good" by native English speakers (12 out of 15 or above). For this study, however, I only ended up using 22 of those texts, which resulted in 4544 total number of words (median per text = 212.5) and a total of 673 EDUs (median per text = 15).

Japanese Texts

In order to have a point of comparison to which to refer back and observe whether the features and phenomena observed in the JEFL texts could be plausibly traced back to the L1, a small number of Japanese texts written on the same topic were also collected.

A short questionnaire was designed in Japanese on Google Forms (see Appendix F) and, with the help of two colleagues, distributed by email to 27 Japanese undergraduate students at three different universities in Japan. This means that the Japanese texts collected were written by different students than those who had contributed texts to the ICNALE. By having different writers of a homogenous group (i.e., Japanese university students) complete the same task, it was possible to avoid an order effect (Sasaki & Hirose, 1996).

Students were asked to anonymously complete the questionnaire online, which covered questions about their English language proficiency (i.e., formal test scores, like TOEFL, TOEIC, or IELTS), academic level, field of study, age, sex, year of studying English, and experience abroad (essentially adopting the questions found in the personal info section of the ICNALE questionnaire). Once students provided this information, they were then asked to write a short essay in Japanese based on the part-time job prompt used in ICNALE.

To further improve comparability between the L1 and L2 it was important to avoid possible external influences on the written products. Since a number of studies have shown that different topics may affect both the quality and length of writing (see Carlson, Bridgeman, Camp, & Waanders, 1985; Hamp-Lyons, 1990; Reid, 1990), the same topic (part-time jobs) was chosen as the prompt for the L1 and L2 texts (i.e., the Japanese text and the JEFL texts). Respondents completed the questionnaire and submitted their writing samples on a voluntary basis. In total, nine texts were collected.

After reviewing the nine texts, however, I noticed that three of the texts consisted of three or fewer sentences, which therefore had to be deemed insufficient and dismissed due to their length, so that six texts remained for analysis.

Next, as with the NES texts, these six texts were rated by three native-Japanese speakers on a scale of one to five (one being poor and five being excellent). To serve as a representation of "good" Japanese writing, the text was selected on the basis of a score of 2.3 standard deviations or more above the mean (the mean was 10.5), that is, a 12.8/15 or better. One text received a score of 13 by the raters. This text acted as my point of comparison to the L2 texts, that is, the JEFL texts, and is representative of "good" Japanese writing in this study. The text and the results from the analysis of the text will be presented and discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

Analytical Framework

Rhetorical Structure Theory

Before moving on to the methodology, it is first necessary to provide a description of the methodological framework on which this study is conducted. In the next several sections, I will elaborate on the theory behind Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST), its concept, and approach.

RST: An overview

RST, developed by Mann and Thompson (1988), is a descriptive linguistic approach that analyzes the organization of discourse. Unlike other theories of text structure (e.g., Grosz & Sidner, 1986), Mann and Thompson eliminate the necessity of linguistic devices as indicators of relations, and, alternatively, offer a systematic way for texts to be annotated by modeling the rhetorical structure of a text into a hierarchical discourse tree, or RST tree, in which relations between spans of texts are identified. These spans of texts are usually made up of smaller units called the minimal building blocks of discourse or Elementary Discourse Units (EDUs).

The coherence structure of the texts is described in terms of RST (Mann & Thompson 1988; http://www.sfu.ca/rst). The smallest units (elementary discourse units or EDUs) in this analysis are clauses, except for intraclausal constituents, restrictive relative clauses, or independent fragments, that function as complete utterances. The functional relations between the propositions in a text are defined in terms of semantic constraints on the constituent units and the analyst's plausibility judgments about the writer's purpose in producing those units. The unit in a relation that is most central to the writer's purposes is called the nucleus; a less central supporting or expanding unit is called a satellite. The relations apply

recursively to yield a hierarchical structure (so there are nuclei and satellites at all levels, embedded in each other). RST trees combine subject matter relations (relating states of affairs) and presentational relations (relating illocutions or text parts) in a single representation. As Berzlánovich, Egg, and Redeker (2012) explain, "This conflation of content structure and intentional structure allows the analyst to choose the contextually most salient relation, that is, the one that maximizes the relevance of a unit to the local or global discourse purpose at hand" (p. 144).

Nucleus-Satellite

Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of RST is the concept of nucleus and satellite, which make up the spans within the text. RST relations are defined in terms of the nucleus-satellite notion, and texts are structured through the rhetorical relations between these two components. Text coherence is attributed to the presence of those rhetorical relations, which are defined in terms of the writer's intention, that is, the desired effect the writer intended by presenting two spans together. Though the concept of nuclearity is rather novel, the classification in which rhetorical relations occur appears to be comparable to that of other discourse structure theories.

Asymmetric-Symmetric relations

According to Mann and Thompson (1988) rhetorical relations can either be asymmetric (nucleus-satellite) or symmetric (multi-nuclear). This resembles the hypotactic-paratactic distinction made by Grimes (1975). However, as has been pointed out, while these classifications were expressed in semantic and syntactic terms, RST's nucleus-satellite notion is concerned with the (interpreted) purposes of the writer and the effect he/she presumably intends to bring about, which is more in line with the function of rhetoric (Mann & Thompson, 1987; Matthiessen & Thompson, 1988). Therefore, RST provides a way by which to describe the coherence of a text beyond linguistically observable phenomena and as deliberate choices made by a writer seeking to bring about a specific reaction in his/her reader. In fact, one of the four constraints of RST in which rhetorical relations may be defined revolves around this effect (see the list of constraints below as identified by Taboada & Mann, 2006), which is achieved through "a mixture of propositional and intentional language" (Knott, 1996, p. 39).

RST Constraints

1. Constraints on the nucleus;
2. Constraints on the satellite;
3. Constraints on the combination of the nucleus and satellite;
4. Effect (achieved on the reader)

An asymmetric relation is made up of two spans: the N and the S. The nucleus acts as the more important span as it is essential to the writer's goal and purpose at that point in the text and is independent from the other span, whereas the satellite is less important and serves to support the nucleus; it cannot act independently (see Figure 3.4). Asymmetric relations can be further subcategorized into two categories: Presentational (their effect is to increase some inclination in the reader) and Subject Matter (their effect is that the reader recognize the relation between two spans of texts).

Unlike asymmetric relations, symmetric relations can be made up of two or more spans, each of which is of equal importance to the writer's intention. In other words, each node in a symmetric relation is a nucleus. An example of a symmetric relation from the RST website (http://www.sfu.ca/rst/) is given below:

Texts are structured through the relationships between these two components, i.e., the nucleus and satellite. EDUs serve as either a nucleus or a satellite and act as spans within the RST tree. A span may be made up of a single EDU or more. The way by which one EDU, or span, is connected to another is by addition of either one of the 25 asymmetric relations or one of the seven symmetric relations (for the full list of relations and their categories used in this study see Table 3.1 in Appendix A; see

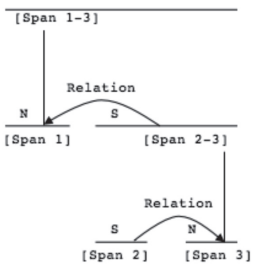


Figure 3.4. RST tree representing asymmetric relations.

Table 3.2 in Appendix A for a comprehensive list of the RST relations' definitions), which can only be assigned by following four constraints: *completeness, connectedness, uniqueness*, and *adjacency*.

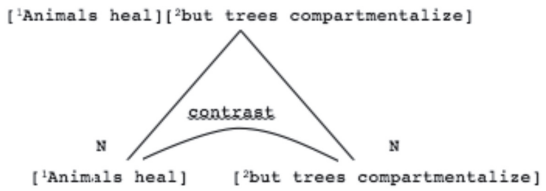


Figure 3.5. RST tree representing a contrast relation (one of the seven types of symmetric relations).

Completeness refers to the fact that an RST tree must cover the entire text. In other words, annotation is very holistic in nature—it takes the entire text into account and a portion of a text cannot be considered separate from the rest. *Connectedness* regards how the sub-trees within the tree that represents the entire texts are connected to one another. They must act as a constituent to another until the minimal unit is identified. In a well-structured text, no tree can function outside the hierarchy of the entire text. *Uniqueness* refers to the concept of how each set of spans must be made up of different segments. For example, in Figure 1, [Span 1-3] is made up of EDU 1, EDU 2, and EDU 3. That span is then broken down into two smaller spans on the following level in the hierarchy of the RST tree: [Span 1] (EDU 1) is the N and [Span 2-3] (EDU 2 and EDU 3) is the S of [Span 1]. It would not be possible, however, for the two separate spans on the same level to be made up of the same segments, e.g., [Span 1] [Span 2-3] and a third span [Span 3], since segment 3 already occupies [Span 2-3] at that level of the tree. This is what uniqueness refers to. And, finally, *adjacency* denotes the limitation of spans. In RST, only adjacent spans can be connected to one another to form larger spans. So, for example, referring again back to Figure 1, [Span 1] is connected to [Span 3] only by incorporating [Span 2] to create [Span 1-3]. There cannot be a [Span 1&3]—again: in a well-formed text—as one span cannot cross over another without connecting with it according to RST principles. These constraints are employed in this study to produce structural diagrams, i.e., RST trees, of each text in the NES and JEFL corpora respectively.

RST & coherence

RST is designed to represent the discourse structure of a text through coherence relations. When annotating an entire text within the RST framework, the analyst seeks an annotation that includes every part of that text in one connected whole (Taboada & Mann, 2006). The whole text is broken into EDUs and the way by which one unit is connected to another is by addition of one of 32 predefined RST relations, which are defined in terms of four fields: 1) Constraints on the nucleus; 2) Constraints on the satellite; 3) Constraints on the combination of the nucleus and satellite; and 4) Effect (achieved on the text receiver) (Taboada & Mann, 2006). Furthermore, when marking relations the annotator must work within four guidelines: *completeness, connectedness, uniqueness,* and *adjacency*. This presupposes that the text is in fact well-structured and every unit is related to one another and/or plays a coherent role in the whole structure of the text. Accordingly, in less coherent texts, these constraints cannot be applied. The question then remains: How does one apply RST to a less well-structured text?

Though this may appear to be an issue in contrastive studies that regularly investigate less well-structured texts (that often being the point of such studies), the fact of the matter is that it is for this very reason that RST is exceedingly suited for contrastive studies. Recent studies have found RST an effective approach for identifying breaks in coherence of the text for the very reason that it is designed to describe the rhetorical relations between segments and spans of texts and thereby the coherence formed within the hierarchy of the text (see Skoufaki, 2009; Yamashita, 2015). Accordingly, should an abnormality occur when annotating a text within the RST framework, the likely cause is that a coherence break has been unearthed within the text. Skoufaki (2009) identified a number of such abnormalities.

Dangling units refer to a unit that is seemingly unrelated to the rest of a text but is linked to it anyway (Skoufaki, 2009). This can occur for a variety of reasons. Often times the content is irrelevant to the main idea of the text. It may also be that the content itself is incomprehensible due to semantic and syntactic errors in the writing. In other cases it may appear as a narrative postscript that distracts or digresses from the topic—similar to didactic remarks as discussed in Chapter 2.

Crossed dependencies occur when a unit intrudes on another span of texts that already hold a rhetorical relation. An example of such an anomaly is given below. Boundaries between segments are marked with the number sign (#). Each segment is subsequently numbered for ease of reference to them in the discussion that follows (see Example 3.1).

#[1Having a part-time job also teaches time management skills and gives a student more room to breathe financially.]#[2This kind of responsibility developed over time makes for a happy hiring official.]#[3It is important to note however that there are other ways of impressing HR personnel, including internships, leaderships in university of organizations, and volunteer work.]#[4However, a part-time job builds both your resume and your income,]#[5and should be considered an essential part of a university education.]#

Example 3.1

In this excerpt from a text from the NES corpus, [Unit 2] offers an explanation, i.e., elaboration relation, for the idea presented in [Unit 1] and together they form [Span 1-2]. [Unit 3] then is connected to this span as an antithesis creating [Span 1-3]. [Unit 4] justifies the statement made in [Unit 5] and together they form [Span 4-5]. [Span 4-5] is essentially a restatement of [Unit 1]. This coherence relation between [Unit 1] and [Span 4-5] is problematic, however, as it appears [Span 4-5] intrudes on the relationship already formed in [Span 1-3]. This kind of intrusion is what Skoufaki (2009) referred to as "crossed dependencies." In other words, units cross over into other spans and interrupt the coherent relationship formed between the units within that span, which violates the connectedness and adjacency constraints of RST.

Another type of abnormality is the misplacement of coherence relations. In this case, the relations form a coherent whole but their location within the text may be inappropriate. For example, a "background" relation generally occurs more towards the beginning of a text as it provides the background the reader needs to better comprehend the subsequent ideas. Therefore, it appears in preference before the nucleus. If it is placed after the nucleus the relation still holds but the coherence between the two units is awkward. According to Skoufaki (2009), this type of abnormality is indicative of "inductive content order" (p. 193).

It is clear then that RST can be applied to less well-structured texts thereby excavating the coherence breaks occurring within those texts which are making them appear to be illogical, unorganized, and ambiguous. One of the greatest advantages of RST is that, as Taboada and Mann (2006) argue, " . . . [it] points to a tight relation between relations and coherence in text, thus constituting a way of explaining coherence" (p. 6). In other words, RST offers a way to articulate the unarticulated rules, to speak the unspoken values, and to reveal the hidden conventions with

which learners of English struggle. Consequently, RST is exceedingly suited for answering the question: Why is JEFL writing generally regarded as more illogical, unorganized, and less coherent than that of NES writing?

Methodology

The major steps carried out for the annotation of the corpora and comparison of the data were as follows:

1) Elementary Discourse Unit segmentation.
2) Rhetorical Structure Theory annotations.
3) Statistical analysis of the JEFL and NES texts.

Step 1: Elementary Discourse Unit Segmentation

Because segmentation is the first step before a RST analysis, quality discourse segments are necessary in order to build reliable RST annotations, just as is the case with any discourse parsing (Hoek, Zufferey, Evers-Vermeul, & Sanders, 2017; Soricut & Marcu, 2003). Therefore, to assure that the segmentation of the texts would be as precise as possible, I chose to implement Tofiloski, Brooke, and Taboada's (2009) automatic syntactic and lexically-based segmenter or SLSeg, which, when run, breaks each text into smaller units of analysis, i.e., EDUs. SLSeg identifies EDUs according to the following definition:

> . . . complements of attributive verbs and cognitive verbs . . . are not EDUs . . . adjunct, but not complement clauses are discourse units ... all discourse segments ... contain a verb. Whenever a discourse boundary is inserted, the two newly created segments must each contain a verb ... coordinated clauses (but not coordinated VPs), adjunct clauses with either finite or non-finite verbs, and non-restrictive relative clauses (marked by commas) [are segmented] . . . the [segmentation] choice is motivated by whether a discourse relation could hold between the resulting segments. (p. 78)

Because the performance of SLSeg has been shown to have high precision with nearly identical recall (F-score of 0.79) in inserting discourse boundaries (Tofiloski, Brooke & Taboada, 2009), it was not necessary to test for inter-rater reliability.

Automatic segmentation, however, is not without its share of weaknesses. As Tofiloski, Brooke, and Taboada explain, the SLSeg adheres "to the original RST proposals" of Mann and Thompson (1988) that "defined as 'spans' adjunct clauses, rather than complement (subject and object) clauses" (p. 78). However, there are

complications that may arise during segmentation based on this algorithm and, in turn, affect the overall analysis of the text. In particular, syntactically embedded relations, such as complement or (non)restrictive clauses may interfere with established segmentation principles (Hoek et al., 2017; Schilperoord & Verhagen, 1998; Verhagen, 2001).

Verhagen (2001) explains that while the application of "Mann & Thompson's rule" to less complex cases of embedding may bring about the "desired segmentation," the same cannot be claimed when applied to "more complicated cases" (p. 341). Accordingly, Schilperoord and Verhagen (1998, p. 150) (also see Verhagen, 2001) have proposed a condition on discourse segmentation summed up as follows: "If a constituent of a matrix-clause A is conceptually dependent on the contents of a subordinate clause B, then B is not a separate discourse segment."[13]

Based on this position of discourse segmentation, it is clear that SLSeg may indeed encounter problems when applied to intricate texts made up of varying clauses, as its algorithm may not always be able to accurately produce segments due to the implicitness of their dependent relationships. The texts used in this study, however, are all relatively short in length, consist mostly of simplex clauses, and contain virtually no complex or non-restrictive relative clauses. As a consequence, adjusting SLSeg would not have an impact on the segmentation in my corpora. This claim is substantiated by the fact that a manual check for the occurrence of multiple complements found zero cases in either corpus.

On a different topic, Hinkel (2005) has pointed out that tagging of syntactic and lexical features of L2 writers' texts by means of automatic tagging can pose problems due to errors in the language of the texts. Such errors can make it difficult for a program to accurately tag a text. In the case of my corpora, I did indeed observe a few minor errors in segmentation, particularly in the JEFL texts where the JEFL writers had made mistakes in their English. For example, in one text the writer wrote:

> #[But then some people may say that college students should not spend their time]#[to do part-time job.]

13 Recent research extends these problems to dependency on propositional content in text fragments and has proposed that segmentation be permitted within certain embedded clauses (see Hoek et al., 2017).

SLSeg marked a boundary (#) between time and to do part-time job. It appears in this instance the program identified to do part-time job as an infinitive clause, which would according to SLSeg principles rightly be marked as an EDU; however, this clearly cannot function as an infinitive clause but should in fact be a gerund clause: doing part-time job. With this grammatical correction, this sentence could not be broken into two separate EDUs. Grammatical errors such as this that affected the outcome of the segmentation were manually revised. Other errors, such as omitting particles (doing [a] part-time job), were not corrected, as these types of minor errors played no significant role in segmentation results.

In another text, the JEFL writer omitted a verb that was needed to make the sentence grammatically accurate:

> #[However some people said that students have to work hard and late, and the environment in their workplace sometimes bad.]

SLSeg marked this sentence with a single boundary at the beginning, which would be in accordance to the system's programmed principles; however, without the finite verb is, this sentence is ungrammatical. Since correcting this text by inserting the needed verb is between workplace and sometimes affected the segmentation of this text, this grammatical error was corrected, which resulted in a second boundary:

> #[However some people said that students have to work hard and late,]#[and the environment in their workplace is sometimes bad.]

In all similar cases where the grammatical errors affected the segmentation results, these errors were manually adjusted. There were also cases where segmentations did not appear to be consistent:

> #[Also, by having a part-time job, college students can explore their interests and work on things that interest them.]

In this very same text, however, just one sentence before, the SLSeg identified by having a part-time job as a separate segment:

> #[By having a part-time job,]#[college students can learn to be more responsible.

A possible cause for this incorrectly marked boundary could be that the clause by having a part-time job is embedded in Also, college students can explore their interests and work on things that interest them. Since, however, the program had marked a preposition followed by a gerund clause as an EDU previously in this same text as well as in several others, e.g., without/IN working/VBG, before/IN going/VBG, I manually marked distinct EDUs in all instances where prepositions followed by gerund clauses were embedded in a segment, including the above example.

Once these above corrections were made, segmentation was complete. However, because SLSeg only works with the English language, the Japanese text, which acts as a point of reference, had to be manually segmented by two annotators, the author and a native-Japanese speaker. The second annotator was given Tofiloski, Brooke, and Taboada's (2009) definition of EDUs and asked to segment the Japanese text according to that definition. To test the reliability of the tagging of the EDUs, I used the kappa coefficient κ, commonly used in discourse analysis. The kappa coefficient is more robust than percentage agreement as it takes into account chance agreement: $\kappa = \frac{p_o - p_e}{1 - p_e}$ (where p_o is the observed proportionate agreement and p_e is the probability of chance agreement).

Marcu, Amorrortu, and Romera (1999) found that when inter-annotator agreement assumes that EDU boundaries can be inserted between each word the chance agreement is very high since many words are within units and not at boundaries. To avoid this pitfall, I assumed that EDU boundaries could only occur between clauses rather than between words. This resulted in a more conservative measure. Once the total number of EDU boundaries was calculated, κ was computed with SPSS 23 to evaluate the agreement between the two annotators, the results of which were κ = 0.709, suggesting a satisfactory agreement rate (Arstein & Poesio, 2008; Cohen, 1988).

Step 2: RST Annotations

Following segmentation, the texts were analyzed according to the RST guidelines and the definitions of each of the 28 relations as originally identified by Mann and Thompson (1988) and augmented with four more recently defined relations (Means, Preparation, Unconditional, and Unless) made available by Taboada and Mann (2006).[14] These relations are classified into two main types: nucleus-satellite

14 The author practiced applying RST by annotating previously analyzed texts, comparing the results to the published RST analyses (http://www.sfu.ca/rst/), and adapting the annotation practice accordingly. This was followed by a more formal training with an RST expert, before the RST annotations of the texts in the present corpus were produced.

and multinuclear. Relations between segments that did not fit into one of the 32 relations as identified by RST were tagged as unknown and marked "[???]." This tag occurred only with dangling units that were incomprehensible due to the writer's lack of language proficiency and therefore only appears in the JEFL corpus.

The aforementioned texts, i.e., 22 JEFL texts, 22 NES texts, and the Japanese text, were analyzed to create a structural analyses of each text using the UAM Corpus Tool (O'Donnell, 2009), a highly versatile annotating software that allows the user to tag data according to a specified annotation scheme, in the case of this study, the RST scheme, and create RST tree structures (see Figure 3.6).

To ensure the reliability of the RST analyses of the corpora, a second rater, who has a background in applied linguistics, was trained according to the same RST guidelines and principles. Training consisted of reading through the 32 RST relations, discussing the definitions, and practicing annotation of a text together. Following the practice text, all of the texts in the JEFL and NES corpora were shuffled together and 10 segmented texts were randomly selected, which resulted in three JEFL texts and seven NES texts that together totaled 179 segments (approximately 10% of the total number of segments of the JEFL and NES corpora). The second rater and the author then worked together and negotiated the spans and the nuclei in each of those spans until a consensus was reached on all these elements in each of the ten texts. This was done because macrostructure (i.e., spans) influences agreement when establishing rhetorical relations (Iruskieta, Ilarraza, & Lersundi, 2014). In other words, identifying the main idea of a text lends to identification of the structure of the text at the micro-level, which results in improved agreement between annotators. Though it may be argued that this would artificially raise the level of agreement between annotators, the fact that there is a correlation between these two kinds of agreement suggests that establishing agreement at the macro-level would ensure a more reliable annotation at the micro-level. Since reliability of annotations is one of the biggest challenges and criticisms of annotating the rhetorical structure of discourse, it is clearly best to take any and all steps that may lead to a more dependable annotation.

Once the second annotator and the author agreed upon the spans and nuclei, the second annotator was asked to tag the relations within each text in accordance to the RST principles on his own. Reliability of the tagged relations between the two annotators was tested using Cohen's (1988) κ and computed on SPSS 23, the results of which were $\kappa = 0.806$.

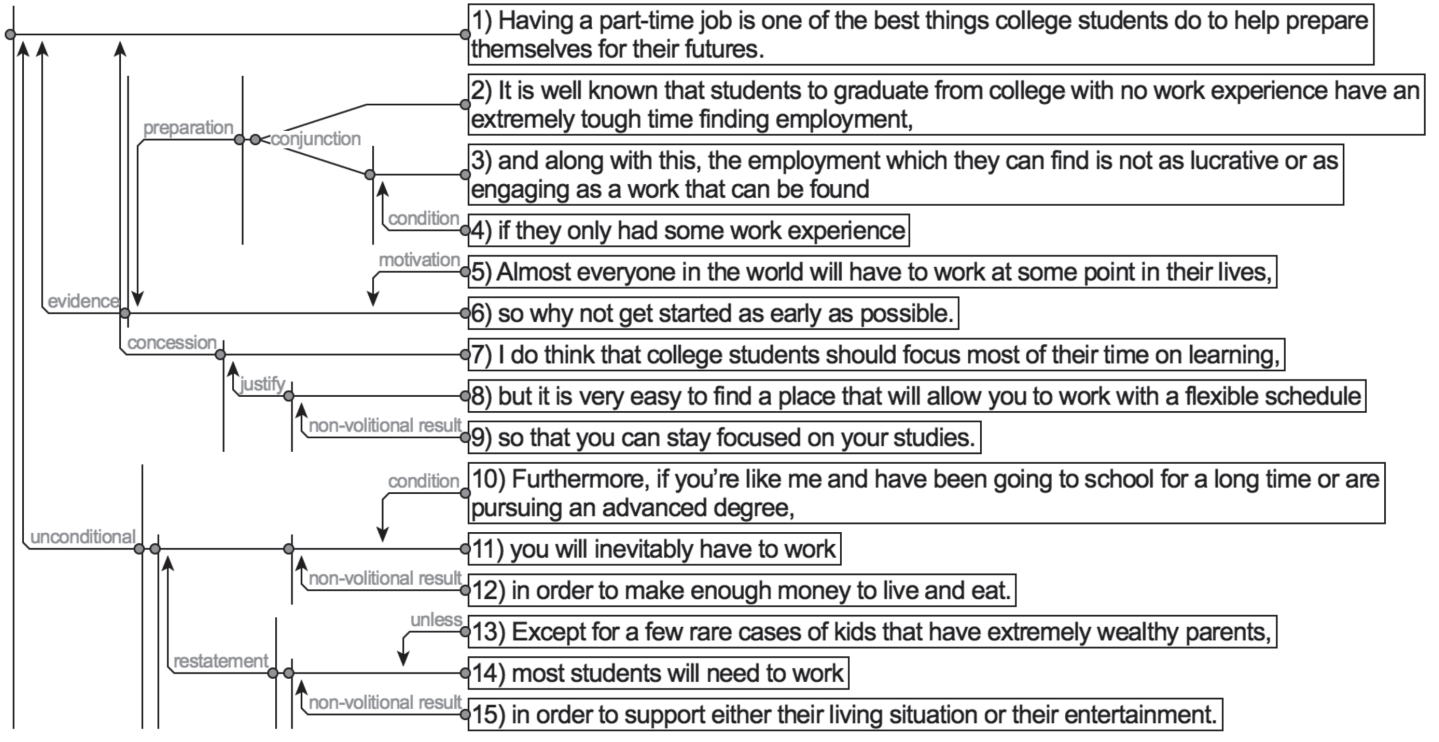


Figure 3.6. An example of the RST tree diagram created using the UAM Corpus Tool.

In order to further demonstrate the reliability of the RST analyses and show that the analyses of the NES texts were not designed to fit the raters' initial ratings, these texts (i.e., the 22 NES texts) were classified into well-written and less well-written texts (as these texts had been classified as "good" writing, it is useful to change the terminology at this point in order to avoid confusion). Classification was based on the results of a second evaluation by native-English speakers using the same one-to-five scale originally used to select the 25 texts for the NES corpus. Well-written texts were identified on the basis of scores of two or more standard deviations above the mean (12 or better), whereas, less well-written texts had two or more standard deviations below the mean (eight or below). Among the 22 texts in the NES corpus, six texts were classified as well written and five texts were classified as less well written. These results were then qualitatively compared to the RST analyses to test whether or not there was a correlation with native-English speakers' intuitive evaluations of the texts and their rhetorical structure. Specifically, the order of nuclei and satellites were carefully investigated, as well as the actual content of the texts to confirm whether the content held for the intended function, e.g., did an Evidence satellite in fact provide evidence for the nucleus, or did the content of the nucleus actually lend itself to the central role of a span? This will be elaborated on further in the following chapter.

Following the inter-rater reliability test and classification of NES texts, the features of the texts in each corpus for each rhetorical relation were tabulated. The frequency rate of relations in the JEFL corpus was compared to that of the NES corpus (Step 1) and statistical significance was tested between the two corpora's relation frequencies (Step 2) at the per word level, the per EDU level, and the per text level. A qualitative comparison of the rhetorical features identified in each corpus was then conducted (the results of which will be discussed in the following chapter). This was followed by qualitatively comparing a text representative of "good" Japanese writing to the JEFL texts (Step 3) in an effort to determine any plausible influence and preferential conventions in the Japanese writing that seemed to be utilized in their English writing as well and that may account for differences in the features that could not be identified through the quantitative results (see Figure 3.7); the results of which will also be discussed in the next chapter (the Japanese text will be introduced in Chapter 4).

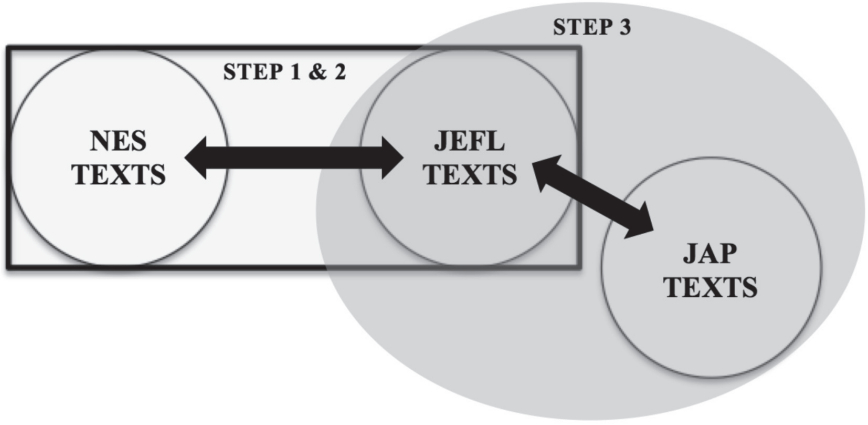


Figure 3.7. Two main corpora and a third point of reference with two pairwise comparisons.

Step 3: Statistical Analysis of JEFL & NES Texts

The purpose of the statistical analysis is to compare the frequency rate of the 32 RST relations (see Table 3.1) in the JEFL corpus and the NES corpus and determine if there is a statistical significance between the two corpora's relation frequencies at the per word level, the per EDU level, and the per text level. As mentioned above, the total number of words was 5763 and the total number of segments was 1173 in the JEFL corpus. The total number of words was 4544 and the total number of segments was 673 in the NES corpus.

Normalization of data

As with all corpus linguistic studies, this study attempts to present a quantifiable piece of information regarding the structure of the JEFL and NES texts, which necessitates a solid statistical basis on which significant variables can be identified. And, since the data in each of the corpora differ in size, a direct comparison between the two corpora certainly would not have produced dependable information on the corpora. Therefore, as suggested by numerous scholars (see Biber, Conrad, & Reppen, 1998; Kilgarriff, 2012; Roland, Dick, & Elman, 2007) the raw frequency counts of relations were normalized. Normalization refers to the process of establishing comparability among observations and applies a simple formula to achieve this: the frequency of the observation is divided by the word count and multiplied by the unit in which the feature is analyzed.

Though it is usual to provide measure of word count in corpus studies, word count really has little importance for this study since my focus is at the rhetorical level and the relations of segments to one another within the hierarchy of the text occur at that level rather than at the lexical one. Accordingly, individual words have little effect on how relations are marked since linguistic devices do not function as indicators of relations within RST, as was discussed previously. For this reason, normalization occurred at two levels: 1) by number of words (PNW) and 2) by number of segments, i.e., EDUs (PNS). The normalization was done by dividing each frequency by the number of words (or EDUs) in that corpus, and multiplying by 1000 to give frequencies per thousand.

Statistical tests

Line charts were used to demonstrate and offer a graphical representation of the two corpora's relation frequencies at the word level, the EDU level, and the text level. Descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation, and median) were used to summarize the frequencies. Though a chi-square test is commonly used in corpus studies such as this one, due to the low frequencies of many of the categories, which is a well-known disadvantage that generally prevents the use of chi-square (McEnery & Wilson, 2001), chi-square was not adopted for the purposes of this study. A Shapiro-Wilk normality test to determine if the data (raw and normalized frequencies for NES and JEFL) were normally distributed was conducted and revealed that the data were not normally distributed ($p = 0.000$ for Shapiro-Wilk normality test). Since normality of data distribution could not be assumed, a t-test, which is a parametric test, could not be legitimately applied. When this occurs, an appropriate non-parametric alternative is the Wilcoxon signed-rank test (Loewen & Plonsky, 2015).

Wilcoxon signed-rank test

Wilcoxon signed-rank tests were applied to determine if there was a statistical significance between the two corpora's relation frequencies at the per word level, the per EDU level, and the per text level. A p-value less than 0.05 indicated significance. The effect size of the Wilcoxon signed-rank tests was computed as $r = \frac{|z|}{\sqrt{n_{NES}+n_{JEFL}}}$, where z is the standardized test statistic for the Wilcoxon signed rank test, n_{NES} is number of observation of relations in NES texts, and n_{JEFL} is number of observation of relations in JEFL texts (Field, 2013; Pallant, 2007). According to Cohen (1988), the criteria of the effect size r is: 0.1 = small effect; 0.3 = medium effect; 0.5 = large effect. The analyses were conducted for 1) all 32 relations ([???] or "unknown" was not included), and 2) by category (Presentational, Subject Matter, and Multinuclear). All analyses were conducted using SPSS 23.

Yule's difference coefficient

In addition to the above tests, Yule's (1944) difference coefficient was applied to assess the difference in the relative frequency of a relation in the two corpora: $\frac{\text{Freq}_{\text{NES}}-\text{Freq}_{\text{JEFL}}}{\text{Freq}_{\text{NES}}+\text{Freq}_{\text{JEFL}}}$ (Baron, Rayson, & Archer, 2009). It should be noted, however, that the results of this test do not suggest whether the relations are used accurately or not; it simply provides a rate of use in comparison to each corpus. The value of the coefficient varies between +1 and –1. A positive value indicated relative overuse in the NES corpus, and a negative value relative overuse in the JEFL corpus.

Results of Statistical Analyses

Raw Frequency

Table 3.3 in Appendix A presents the raw and normalized RST relation frequencies of NES and JEFL. Figure 3.8 shows the line charts of raw relation frequencies of NES and JEFL. It appears that most relation frequencies were higher for the JEFL corpus than for the NES corpus when looking at the raw frequencies (see Table 3.3 in Appendix A); however, as discussed previously, the different sizes of the data in each corpus prevents a reliable statistical analysis from being conducted. Therefore, it was necessary to normalize the data of each corpus to make it of comparable length so that a solid statistical basis could be established before identifying significant variables.

Normalized Frequency

Table 3.4 in Appendix A shows the frequency rates of relations normalized by per 1000 words and per 1000 segments. Figures 3.9 and 3.10 show the line charts of relation frequencies of NES and JEFL normalized at the per word level and per segment level respectively. When normalized by number of words (PNW), the frequency rates appeared to remain higher among the JEFL texts; however, since

rhetorical relations do not occur at the lexical level but at the EDU level, relation frequencies were also normalized by segments (PNS). This on average raised the frequency rates in the NES corpus and lowered them in the JEFL corpus. For example, "evidence" relation occurred more frequently in the JEFL corpus at both the raw and normalized PNW levels but when normalized PNS, the "evidence" relation occurred more frequently in the NES corpus. Most relation frequencies were higher for the NES corpus than for the JEFL corpus when looking at the frequencies normalized by PNS (see Figure 3.10).

Difference Coefficient

Yule's difference coefficient was used to reveal the diversity of the rhetorical relations used in each corpus (see Table 3.5 in Appendix A). The results show that the frequency rate of the 32 relations was fairly equal between the two corpora. The median value of the difference coefficient was 0.07, suggesting that essentially the 32 relations were represented at nearly an equal rate (with 0 representing an equal rate) between the JEFL corpus and the NES corpus.

Descriptive Statistics

Tables 3.6-3.8 in Appendix A show the descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation, and median) for the raw relation frequencies and normalized relation frequencies (normalized by number of words and by number of segments).

Results at the text level (raw)

The analysis results of the Wilcoxon signed-rank tests indicated that at the text level (raw relation frequencies) there was a statistically significant difference in relation frequencies between NES and JEFL ($p = 0.000$), when comparing all 32 relations (see Table 3.6 in Appendix A). The relation frequency for JEFL ($M = 15.81$, $SD = 20.00$) was significantly higher than NES ($M = 9.59$, $SD = 12.17$).

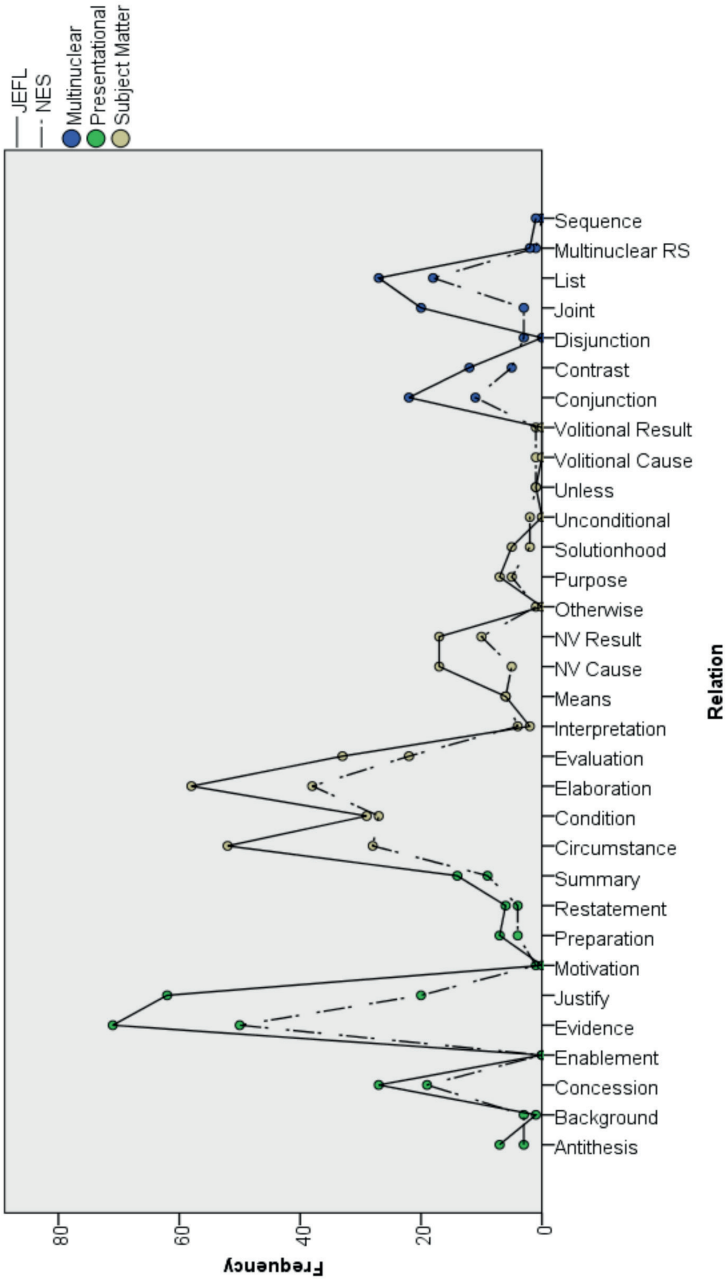


Figure 3.8. Line chart of raw relation frequency for NES and JEFL corpora.

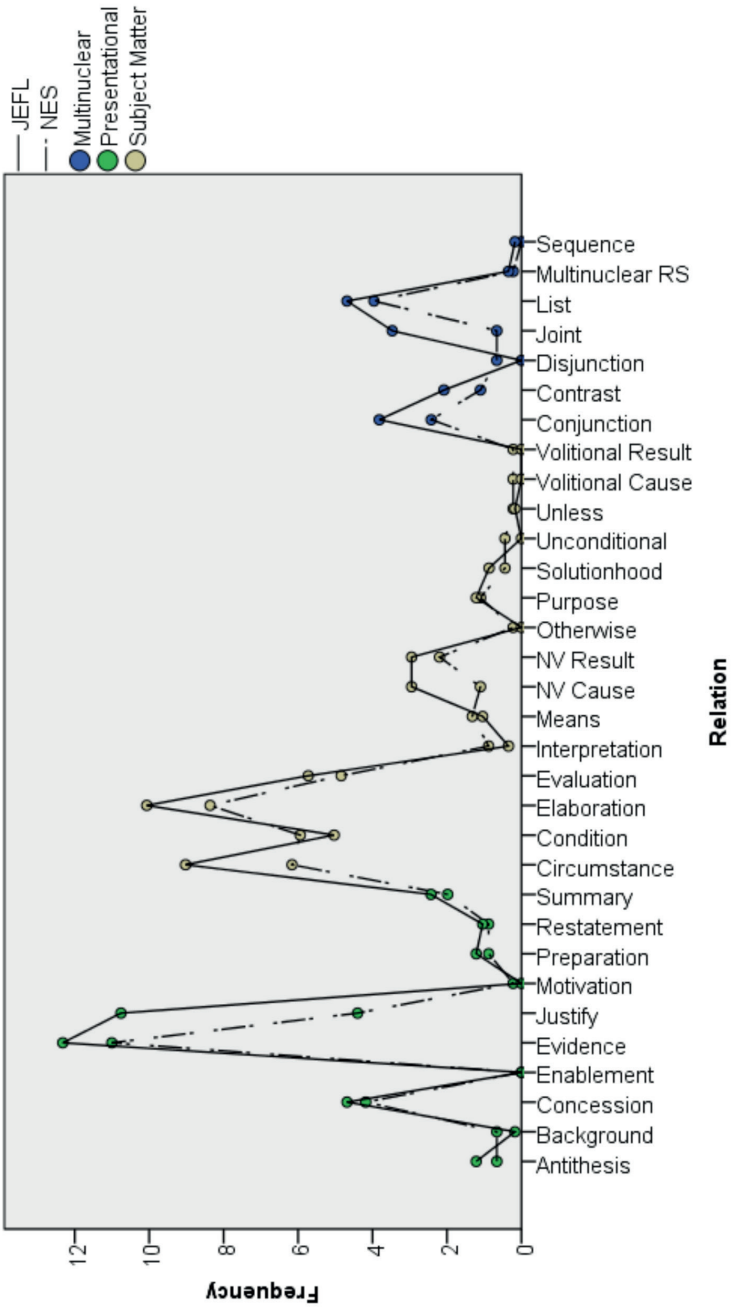


Figure 3.9. Line chart of relation frequency (normalized by number of words) for NES and JEFL corpora.

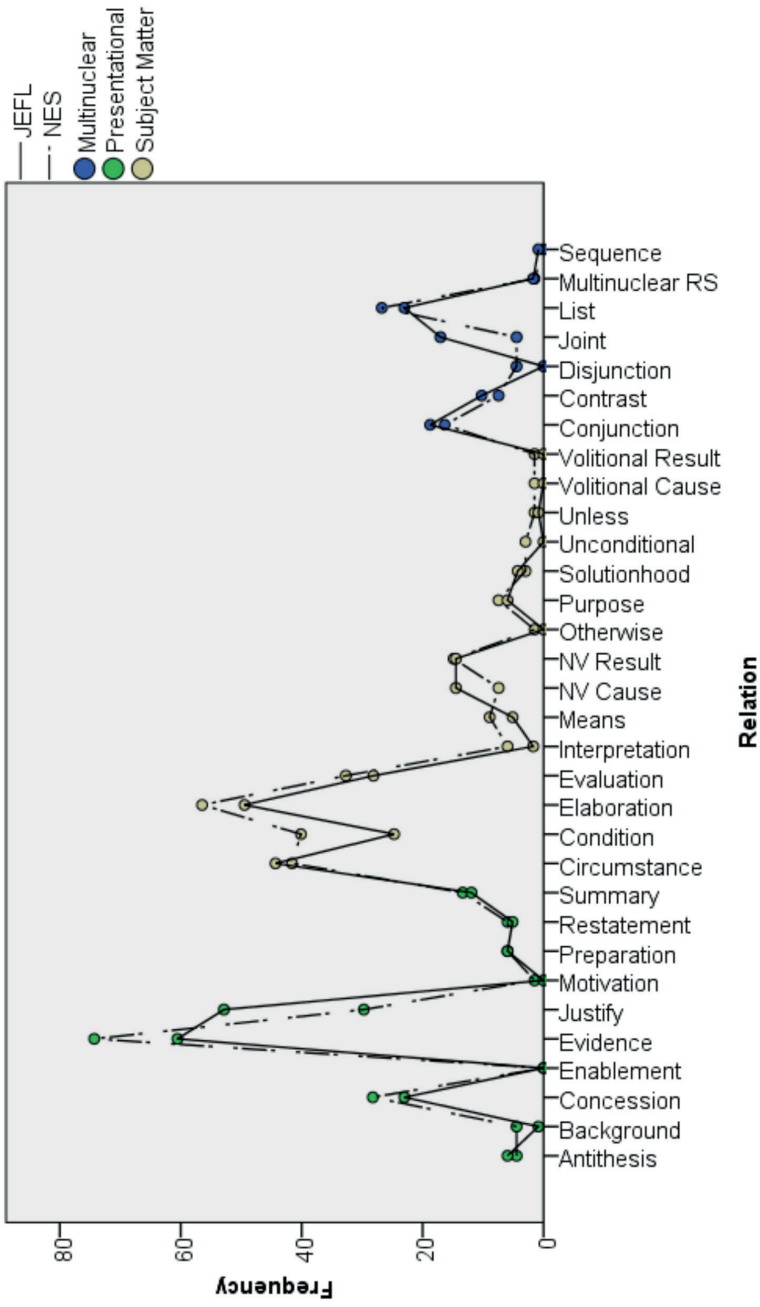


Figure 3.10. Line chart of relation frequency (normalized by number of segments) for NES and JEFL corpora.

There was a statistically significant difference in relation frequencies between NES and JEFL ($p = 0.024$) when comparing only the Presentational relations. The relation frequency for JEFL ($M = 19.50$, $SD = 26.13$) was significantly higher than NES ($M = 11.30$, $SD = 15.33$).

There was a statistically significant difference in relation frequencies between NES and JEFL ($p = 0.045$) when comparing only the Subject Matter relations. The relation frequency for JEFL ($M = 15.13$, $SD = 19.38$) was statistically significantly higher than NES ($M = 10.20$, $SD = 12.23$).

There was no statistically significant difference in relation frequencies between NES and JEFL ($p = 0.063$) when comparing only the Multinuclear relations.

Results at the word level

The analysis results of the Wilcoxon signed-rank tests indicated that at the word level (see Table 3.7 in Appendix A), there was a statistically significant difference in relation frequencies between NES and JEFL ($p = 0.019$) when comparing all 32 relations. The relation frequency for JEFL ($M = 2.74$, $SD = 3.47$) was significantly higher than NES ($M = 2.11$, $SD = 2.68$).

There was no statistically significant difference in relation frequencies between NES and JEFL ($p = 0.066$) when comparing only the Presentational relations.

There was no statistically significant difference in relation frequencies between NES and JEFL ($p = 0.495$) when comparing only the Subject Matter relations.

There was no statistically significant difference in relation frequencies between NES and JEFL ($p = 0.063$) when comparing only the Multinuclear relations.

Thus, for all three subcategories (Presentational relations, Subject Matter relations, and Multinuclear relations), the statistical results support the null hypothesis.

Results at the segment level

The analysis results of the Wilcoxon signed-rank tests indicated that at the segment level (relation frequencies normalized by number of EDUs; see Table 3.8 in Appendix A) there was no statistically significant difference in relation frequencies between NES and JEFL ($p = 0.100$) when comparing all 32 relations.

There was no statistically significant difference in relation frequencies between NES and JEFL ($p = 0.374$) when comparing only the Presentational relations.

There was a statistically significant difference in relation frequencies between NES and JEFL ($p = 0.047$) when comparing only the Subject Matter relations. The relation frequency for JEFL ($M = 12.90$, $SD = 16.52$) was significantly lower than NES ($M = 15.16$, $SD = 18.17$).

There was no statistically significant difference in relation frequencies between NES and JEFL ($p = 0.612$) when comparing only the Multinuclear relations.

Thus, results of the Presentational relations and Multinuclear relations support the null hypothesis, but the results of the Subject Matter relations reject the null hypothesis.

Summary of Results

The statistical analyses showed that most relation frequencies were higher for the JEFL corpus than for the NES corpus at the raw frequency rate. These results changed slightly when normalized by words with more frequency rates more equally distributed between the two corpora; however, normalization per segments caused the frequency rates between the two corpora to swap, with frequencies higher for the NES corpus than for the JEFL corpus. As rhetorical relations occur at this level, it is this frequency rate, i.e., PNS, to which attention should be paid as opposed to the raw and PNW rates. Though the NES corpus did contain a higher rate of relations on average, there were certain relations that occurred more often in the JEFL corpus. The Antithesis relation, for example, appeared over 30% more in the JEFL corpus ($N = 5.97$) than in the NES corpus ($N = 4.46$). The Justify relation occurred nearly 80% more frequently in the JEFL corpus ($N = 52.86$) than in the NES corpus ($N = 29.72$). And while the Non-volitional Result occurs nearly equally in both corpora (NES = 14.86; JEFL = 14.49), the Non-Volitional Cause occurred almost twice as often in the JEFL corpus ($N = 14.49$) than in the NES corpus ($N = 7.43$). Furthermore, the Joint relation, which indicates that two units do not hold any rhetorical relation within the hierarchy of the text, occurred nearly four times more in the JEFL corpus. Yule's difference coefficient normalized at the PNS level further showed that indeed these relations were overused more by the JEFL writers when compared to their use by the NES writers.

The Wilcoxon signed-rank tests showed that, when comparing the frequency rates of different categories of relations (Presentational, Subject Matter, and Multinuclear) between the JEFL corpus and NES corpora, there was no statistically significant difference at the PNS level for either the Presentational or the Multinuclear relations (though significant differences were found at the raw and PNW levels), i.e., the results support the null hypothesis. However, the relation frequency for Subject Matter relations was significantly lower for JEFL (M = 12.90, SD = 16.52) than for NES (M = 15.16, SD = 18.17), which indicates that the JEFL writers used the 15 different relations from the Subject Matter relations category less frequently than the NES writers did, thus requiring we reject the null hypothesis. Furthermore, the effect size (r = 0.36) also indicates that the difference between the frequency rate of Subject Matter relations in the JEFL and NES corpora is above medium size, suggesting that the difference is meaningful.

Conclusion

Chapter 3 has presented a detailed explanation of the participants, data, and collection method used to gather the data. This was followed by a description of the analytical framework, RST, on which this study is based. The suitability of this particular framework for contrastive purposes in light of the existing literature presented in Chapter 2 was also presented. I then demonstrated how the design of this study addresses weaknesses in research designs of past studies, specifically comparability of data and inter-rater reliability. A description of the statistical tests used to compare the data was also given, followed by the quantitative results of the analyses at the text (raw), word, and segment (EDU) levels. The following chapter discusses the quantitative results and their theoretical and pedagogical implications. Qualitative observations and their significance will also be explored.

Chapter 4 | Discussion

While the raw frequency rates presented in Chapter 3 revealed statistical differences between the JEFL and NES corpora, there was an issue with the difference in sizes between the two corpora. To make sure like was being compared to like (Connor & Moreno, 2005; James, 1980), it was necessary to normalize the texts. This was done at two levels: per 1000 words and per 1000 segments, i.e., EDUs. At the word level, it was indicated that, when comparing all 32 RST relations, the frequency rate for JEFL was significantly higher than NES; however, as was reiterated throughout Chapter 3, rhetorical relations are formed between segments, not between words. Thus, there was concern that normalization at the word level would not provide a valid statistical basis on which to reliably compare the frequency rates of rhetorical relations. Accordingly, the data was also normalized per 1000 segments, i.e., EDUs—the level at which rhetorical relations occur. It is the results from this normalized data to which I will be restricting the following discussion.

In this chapter, I discuss the quantitative findings presented in Chapter 3. I begin with the larger subcategory, Subject Matter (SM), since a statistical difference was only found here—the SM relation category was found to occur less frequently in the JEFL corpus than in the NES corpus. Accordingly, I confine my discussion of the quantitative data to SM relations and how the JEFLs' use of this sort of relation may reflect problems with the coherence in their texts. As will be shown, it cannot be assumed that a lower rate of SM relations automatically leads to a text of lower quality. The NES texts judged as "well written" had a tendency towards fewer SM relations than those judged as "less well written," suggesting that frequency rate alone cannot account for differences in text quality.

Next to the underrepresentation of the category of SM relations, there are also a few individual relations (including SM relations) that are, as identified by Yule's difference coefficient, overrepresented in the JEFL data. I found the overrepresented relations to be of particular interest, as the data in this study offered some interesting anomalies that may be related to the coherence and apparent quality of texts. Accordingly, I will further expand on some of these relations, in particular. The interpretation of the quantitative data is lastly accompanied by qualitative observations made as a result of that data.

I begin my qualitative discussion with a closer look at what a lower rate of SM relations in the JEFL texts could indicate. This will be followed by an examination of the content found within the segments of various overrepresented relations in the JEFL corpus that may be negatively affecting coherence. I then proceed to investigate the occurrences of two interesting phenomena in particular: 1) instances of dangling units and 2) the occurrence of mismatched content and nuclei function across segments, which I will term "artificial nuclei." I would like to preface the following by stating that the qualitative observations to be discussed concern only a few cases in the corpus and thus should not be regarded as definitive, generalizable evidence. But, together with the quantitative data, they do provide some deeper insight and present intriguing conjectures that are worthy of further consideration.

In fact, it is important to note that the quantitative and qualitative discussions should be considered in tandem with one another because linguistic categories and distinctions are fuzzy, making it difficult to quantify them, as is the case with much data on human behavior. This is perhaps why so many contrastive rhetorical studies in the past have struggled to provide precise conclusions, i.e., it is difficult to successfully quantify meaningful language use, and it always involves qualitative decisions on what is being counted. Looking at the quantitative data through a qualitative lens is thus an important and even necessary enterprise to help bring about a better understanding of what the data means within its context.

The integration of qualitative and quantitative research has long been advocated in the social and human sciences (see, for example, Campbell & Fiske, 1959; Denzin, 1989, 2012; Jick, 1979; Mathison, 1988; Onwuegbuzie, Johnson, & Collins, 2009). As Olsen (2004), explains, the mixing of quantitative and qualitative methods "is not aimed merely at validation but at deepening and widening one's understanding" (p. 103). Accordingly, the examination of quantitative data in tandem with qualitative observations can assist in bringing about insights into human behavior as illustrated in various studies (e.g., Jacobs, 1996; Ruark & Fielding-Miller, 2016), and which also applies to the study of language. What follows, therefore, should be seen as a "sequential chaining," as Hartley and Chesworth (2000, p. 15) put it, of quantitative data and qualitative observations of the phenomena involved.

Interpretations of the Quantitative Data

The Wilcoxon signed-rank test indicated no statistically significant difference in the frequency rates between the two corpora in all but one category: SM relations. Specifically, there were significantly fewer SM relations found in the JEFL corpus than in the NES corpus ($p = 0.047$). Since the quality of English texts written by

Japanese (and L2 writers in general) is usually regarded as poorer to texts written by NESs (see Connor, 2005; Hinkel, 2002; Kaplan, 1966; Silva, 1993; Tillema, 2012; Yamashita, 2015), a reasonable hypothesis here would be that there is a direct link between the frequency of SM relations and text quality, namely, fewer SM relations leads to an overall lower quality text. To test this hypothesis the proportion of SM relations in the NES texts was compared to the results of the intuitive assessments made by NESs of their overall quality. The results are displayed in Figure 4.1.

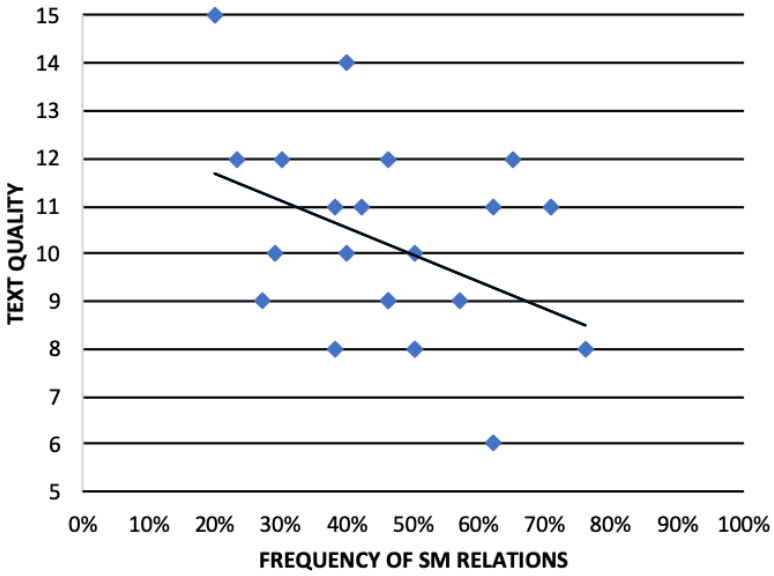


Figure 4.1. Scatter chart showing the correlation between the percentage of SM relations in NES texts and the assessment of those texts

As we can see, this simple hypothesis is not corroborated. If anything, the regression line suggests a tendency for well-written NES texts to have fewer SM relations. Though these results are not significant ($p = 0.058$), it still cannot be argued, based on the data from this study, that a lower rate of SM relations definitively leads to a lower quality text. Rather, what this does suggest is that there is something more complicated going on than the frequency rate of relations that is causing issues in the quality of JEFL texts.

Vagueness/Ambiguity

Considering that SM relations are the more ideational and informational of the two relation subgroups, it would seem to follow that a lower number of such relations in a text would indicate that ideas and information within the text are inadequate and this, in turn, would cause the text to be experienced as vague and less coherent. This would be due to the simple fact that an insufficient amount of information prevents the reader from being able to effectively identify the point of the text, or, at the very least, fully comprehend the ideas being presented. As Hobbs (1979, p. 74) notes: "When a sentence is insufficiently informative . . . the reader or listener looks for an Elaboration next, and [in coherent discourse] frequently finds it." If such a segment is not found, then the text is less coherent, due to insufficient information. This phenomenon could (partially) explain how the lower rate of SM relations in the JEFL texts reflects less coherence as well as the vagueness and ambiguity that has been observed in Japanese English writing in past studies (e.g., Connor, 2005; Harder & Harder, 1982; Nishihara, 1990; Oi & Kamimura, 1998)—if a reader expects to find a certain segment with a particular relation and does not find it, he/she would, understandably, be left confused by the lack of information and coherence. Viewed in this way, the lower rate of SM relations is not the *cause* of the lower text quality of the JEFL texts but rather a *symptom* of a deeper problem.

Accordingly, it seems possible to account for the lower rate of SM relations as reflecting the vagueness/ambiguity of Japanese English writing in a plausible, natural way. This implies that it cannot be assumed that vague and ambiguous writing is the result of cultural differences or even unique to the English writing of Japanese L2 writers. Indeed, the inability to effectively develop ideas and generate content is not specific to Japanese learners, but is, in fact, a common area with which both L2 writers in general as well as novice writers struggle (Liu, 2009; Silva, 1993; Weigle, 2002). In the remainder of this chapter, I will first elaborate this further, on the basis of results of other research, and then relate it to a qualitative discussion of two other phenomena that can be observed in the data: a) some individual relations that are precisely *over*represented in the JEFL corpus, and b) dangling units and cross dependencies. Both may also be linked to issues of text quality in relation to coherence, in a way that is compatible with the diagnosis of the lower rate of SM relations.

As to the first of these topics, the Wilcoxon signed-rank test indicated no statistically significant difference in the frequency rate of all 32 relations between the NES and JEFL corpora (and the results of Yule's difference coefficient also support those findings overall), but if we focus on individual relations, a tendency

for certain relations to be overrepresented in the JEFL corpus in comparison to their frequency in the NES corpus can be noticed (see Figure 4.2). It is worthwhile to investigate these differences more closely, not only because of their interest as such, but also to see if they may ultimately be diagnosed in the same way as the *under*represented category of SM relations. I will therefore limit the present study to the overrepresented relations that I found to be most interesting and seemingly most influential on coherence, leaving the other relations for future research.

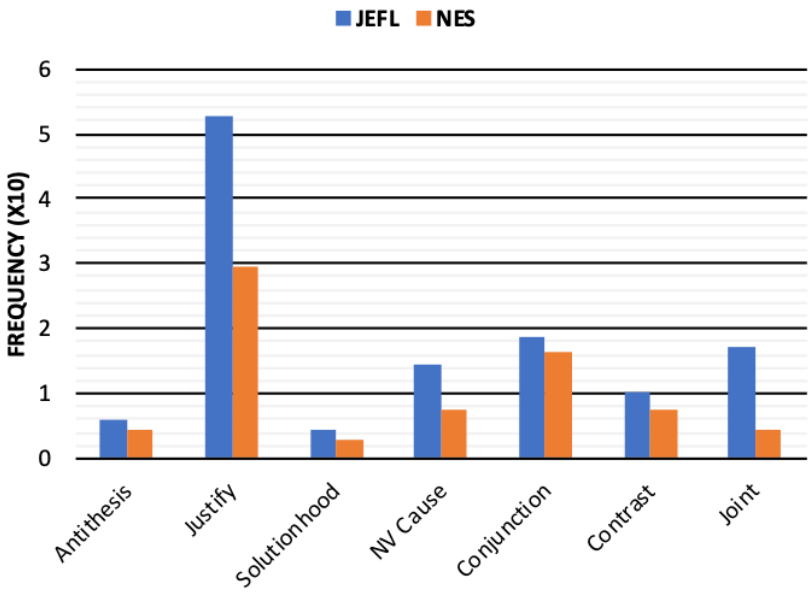


Figure 4.2. Bar graph showing the overrepresented relations in the JEFL corpus compared to the NES corpus

Among those in the Presentational relations category, the Antithesis was used over 30% more frequently by the JEFL writers; the Justify relation more than 80%. The value of the difference coefficient for each of these relations was -0.14 and -0.28 respectively, confirming overrepresentation of these relations in the JEFL corpus when compared to their use in the NES corpus. Two relations from the SM category[15] were also used quite a bit more among the JEFL writers. The Solutionhood relation occurred 30% more frequently in the JEFL corpus, with a difference coefficient

15 The individual rates of Solutionhood and NV Cause relations, though more frequent in the JEFL texts, were, used relatively infrequently on the whole and the total rate of SM relations remains greater in the NES texts.

value of -0.18. It is also interesting to note that the Non-volitional (NV) Cause appeared nearly twice as often in the JEFL corpus as it did in the NES corpus; its coefficient value was -0.32. Three types of Multinuclear relations were used more in the JEFL corpus than in the NES corpus: Conjunction (nearly 15% more frequent; difference coefficient = -0.07); Contrast, which appeared just under 40% more often than in the NES corpus with a difference coefficient value of -0.16; and the Joint relation, identified at a frequency rate of almost four times that of its usage by NES writers (difference coefficient = -0.59). The question then is how the overuse of these relations could reflect typical weaknesses of Japanese English writing identified in the past, namely, illogical, ambiguous, and incoherent. This requires a closer investigation of the individual relations and their occurrences within the texts in a qualitative perspective.

Now, turning to topic b, one reason for RST's suitability for contrastive purposes is its ability to reveal obstructions in coherence, particularly cross dependencies[16] (a unit or span of units that does not abide by RST's adjacency constraint by connecting to another set of units across a different unit) and dangling units (a unit of text that appears to 'dangle' in the text, as it is not connected to the rest of the text and hence has no position within the hierarchy of the text); in practice, the two may in fact be treated as a single phenomenon.

In total, there were 14 instances of this phenomenon, with 13 occurring in the JEFL corpus and one in the NES corpus. When normalized at the segment level (since dangling units are themselves units, there was no need to normalize at the word level), this became 11.08 instances in the JEFL corpus and 1.49 instances in the NES corpus. The statistical analysis results indicated that dangling units occurred at a significantly higher rate in the JEFL corpus ($p = 0.02$) than in the NES corpus with an effect size of 0.35, suggesting a medium effect size (Arstein & Poesio, 2008; Cohen, 1988).

It should be noted, however, that a statistical test on such a small data set does not necessarily produce reliable results. In fact, of the 13 instances of dangling units observed in the JEFL corpus, eight of them occurred in a single text, suggesting that this phenomenon may be more of an anomaly than a pattern, and thus these statistical results should not be regarded as hard evidence but simply as traces of

16 Sanders and van Wijk (1996) reported on "discontinuities," which occur in text organization "when the connection between two segments runs through those of intermediate ones" (p.104).

something that could be pointing towards a difference between the two corpora. Without question, however, a 13:1 ratio certainly does elicit notice. Accordingly, dangling units will also be covered in greater detail in a qualitative discussion.

Looking Through a Qualitative Lens

In this chapter, we have thus far attempted to interpret the significant quantitative result presented in Chapter 3. As was discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the integration of quantitative data with qualitative observations is necessary for a deeper and wider understanding of linguistic phenomena. The following sections will therefore look closely at the texts themselves and the implementation of a variety of relations within those texts in an effort to better understand why the English writing of Japanese may be regarded as less coherent and more illogical to that of NESs.

Since, as we have seen, the lower frequency rate of SM relations in the JEFL texts cannot account for lower text quality on its own but does allow for a natural interpretation as a symptom of textual problems in the ideational domain, it is worthwhile to venture into other avenues to see what can be revealed about the texts and to what extent this can be interpreted along parallel lines. Accordingly, problematic properties of the JEFL texts (beyond relation use) will be presented. After discussing the observable problems, the mechanisms most likely causing those problems will be posited. Finally, the relations identified as overrepresented in the JEFL corpus and the phenomena of dangling units and artificial nuclei will be discussed at length.

Observable Problems in the Texts

The quantitative data has shown that the JEFL writers in general use one subgroup of relations, i.e., SM relations, significantly less than the NES writers do. Though it is possible to provide an explanation for this as an indication for the reason why the JEFL texts are often regarded as vague and ambiguous, this cannot explain why there was a tendency for the NES texts with no more or even fewer such relations to be evaluated as "well-written" (see beginning of this chapter). Accordingly, this difference (fewer SM relations in JEFL) seems to be only one symptom among many of the vagueness and ambiguity that often characterizes JEFLs' English texts. In fact, a closer look at the JEFL texts reveals other problematic areas that, in combination with the quantitative data, offer insight into the JEFL writers' texts that help to plausibly explain why they struggle to produce coherent English writing beyond idiomatic and grammatical reasons.

Uniform Information Density

A text can only be regarded as coherent when the reader (subconsciously) anticipates a certain coherence relation and finds it in the order and position in which he/she expects to find it (Hobbs, 1979; Mann & Thompson, 1987). Thus, for one's ideas to be developed and presented coherently, it is important that the writer provides the appropriate amount of details in the text and structures them in such a way that the intended meaning is successfully conveyed. This concept can be subsumed under Uniform Information Density[17] (UID; Frank & Jaeger, 2008; Levy & Jaeger, 2007), which states that speakers (or, in the case of texts, writers) "structure their language to avoid peaks and troughs in rate of information transmission" (p. 944). In other words, a writer has to decide at what point to provide less information and at what point to provide more, based on consideration given to the reader. Less UID results in texts being experienced as less coherent and logical. This problem can be observed in a number of JEFL texts.

For example, in the following excerpt (see Example 4.1), the author leaves out important information while also including unnecessary details.

> #[3]Having a part time job teaches them importance of moneys and working.]#[[4]But in college, students can not learn such things.]#[[5]For example, my part time job is a home tutor and teacher in tutoring school.]#[[6]I teach children Mathematics and English and so on.]#[[7]And I mix with them,]#[[8]talking with them.]#[[9]The part time job is very fun and,]#[[10]and I think that I cannot experience such things in university.]#

Example 4.1

In Example 4.1, the author makes two claims: a) part-time jobs teach the importance of money and work, and b) college does not teach the importance of money and work. When the writer declares, "But in college, students can not learn such things" in `[Span 4]`, the reader expects some elaboration/explanation on this claim and this expectation is further fanned by the "for example" connecter at the beginning of the sentence that follows. However, as the reader quickly realizes, this sentence

17 Grice's (1975) maxims of quantity also echoes this notion, claiming that one's contribution to a communicative interaction should be "as informative as is required (for the purposes of the exchange)" and should not be "more informative than is required (for the purposes of the exchange)" (p. 45).

does not give an example of or explanation for the claim made in [Span 4]. A subsequent clause like "because focus is placed on study over real-life skills like these" would have sufficed and easily prepared the reader for what comes next: the author's personal experience as evidence for how a part-time job can teach "the importance of moneys and working." It is thus clear that vital information that would have helped move the text along more coherently was left out by the writer.

Continuing through the text, we once again come across a violation of UID but this time in the form of *too much* information. At this point, the author appears to deviate from the evidence to discuss what his/her part-time job is and what he/she does. While it may be of some significance to provide the reader with a bit of information regarding the author's job, most of the details here are simply not necessary and only serve to draw the reader away from the point at hand, similar to the digressive element and coherence breaks observed in Japanese English writing in past studies (see, for example, Hinds, 1983a, 1983b; Oi, 1986; Yamashita, 2015).

Thus, what we see in this example are instances of where the author causes a "trough" in information immediately followed by a "peak," resulting in an unclear, or, more accurately, incoherent text. In order to create coherence and flow in a text it is vital to provide enough information while not going overboard and over explaining and/or including details that the reader simply does not need. Knowing how much information to offer, however, is a skill that comes with experience and practice in writing. This will be discussed momentarily.

Redundancy & repetition

Another area that is somewhat related to the above issue, i.e., UID, but is not necessarily identifiable through frequency counts (of relations, in any case) is one of the most common sins of writing: redundancy. Because this was observed in both the NES lower-rated texts as well as the JEFL texts, it is worthwhile investigating.

Redundancy and its impact on text quality

Redundancy clearly affects the quality of a text as Example 4.2 shows (it was taken from the lowest assessed NES text). In this text, the author repeats on multiple occasions the idea that he/she is "too busy" with schoolwork to get a part-time job (see [Unit 1], [Unit 2], [Unit 3], [Unit 4], and [Unit 7]).

#[1I wish that I had enough time to have a part-time job,]#[2but I am way too busy with my schoolwork to even think about getting started in something that would only drain my time and detract from the intense focus which is required of my studies.]#[3I am an MCDB major,]#[4so I think I have a lot more homework than other kids on campus]#[5A lot of my friends have part-time jobs]#[6and they seem to enjoy them quite a lot,]#[7and it really makes me feel bad that I have so much work that I cannot even have just a few hours per week to make a little bit of money and have a little bit of fun.]#

Example 4.2

If, however, this repetition is removed, it becomes clear how the text can be improved upon (see Example 4.3).

#[1As a MCDB major, I simply do not have time to have a part-time job,]#[2though I wish I did]#[3since my friends seem to enjoy theirs quite a lot.]#[4It would also be nice to earn a bit of extra money.]

Example 4.3

In Example 4.2, the reader struggles to identify the point of the text, but the point is made immediately clear in Example 4.3 where the redundant information has been removed. It is thus clear from these examples that excessive repetition negatively impacts the coherence of a text. Furthermore, since Example 4.2 was pulled from the lowest assessed NES text, redundancy may indeed be a contributing factor to a text's quality, something that the lower rate of SM relations cannot (and need not) completely account for. Therefore, it warrants a more thorough discussion.

Redundancy in the JEFL texts

Repetition as a weakness of Japanese English writing has been observed in past studies (see Nishigaki, Chuyo, Leishman, & Hasegawa, 2007; Oi, 1986; Yamashita, 2015), but these studies were generally concerned with vocabulary usage and concluded that such errors were made in an attempt to create coherence, a

preferred strategy among L2 writers (Liu & Zhang, 2012). The texts from the JEFL corpus, however, suggest that something much more ominous is occurring. The issue extends beyond the ability to use synonyms correctly or even an overreliance on repetition to construct coherence. In their efforts to expand upon their ideas and move their texts forward, the JEFL writers ended up unknowingly repeating their ideas. This particular observation is a good example as to why quantitative data does not always tell the whole story. If this study had relied solely on the frequency of RST relations as tagged in the corpus, issues in repetition would not have been unearthed as the occurrences of repetition in the JEFL texts were not recognizably intentioned as rhetorical relations in the coding phase of my investigation and therefore did not warrant a Restatement relation tag. It is thus worthwhile to further elaborate on this issue.

In Example 4.4, [Unit 22] and [Unit 23] attempt to expand upon why "talking with many people is quite meaningful" as stated in [Unit 21]. However, neither [Unit 22] nor [Unit 23] provide clear, specific, and adequate detail so that the reader can receive "the full persuasive impact" (Wyrick, 2016, p. 206) intended by the writer; that persuasive impact being, in the case of this particular text, an attempt to convince the reader that talking to many people is, in fact, meaningful.

#[21Talking with many people is quite meaningful for college students.]#[22They can get very important things from it.]# [23Also, it will be useful for them in the future.]#

Example 4.4

Clearly, the JEFL writer intended to elaborate more on the idea of [Unit 21] but was unable to do so successfully. The lack of detail in [Unit 22] resulted in [Unit 23] which also failed to provide sufficient detail. This causes the text to feel as if its progression has reached an impasse, leaving the reader feeling he/she is trapped on a loop that leads to nowhere. In the end, all [Unit 22] and [Unit 23] achieve is in repeating [Unit 21]. Neither [Unit 22] nor [Unit 23], however, fulfilled the Restatement relation as this does not appear to be the intention of the writer nor would it be likely that the reader would easily "recognize the satellite as a restatement of the nucleus" (Mann, Matthiessen, & Thompson, 1989, p. 56). Rather the most plausible rhetorical intention of the writer was an attempt to use these units together (joined by a List relation) to justify why the author believed it meaningful to talk to many people.

It is clear that the JEFL writers struggle with how to present and distribute information effectively within and across a text. This is seen in the lower rate of SM relations as identified by the quantitative analysis as well as in other ways. The dropping of information when in fact more is needed and the inclusion of unnecessary information is without a doubt a problem observed in the JEFL texts. Further, unintentional repetition and redundant ideas/information can clearly have a detrimental effect on the quality of a text with which the JEFLs seem to particularly have issue. At this point it is worth noting that redundancy/repetitiveness aligns itself closely with UID and in many ways these two overlap. For this reason and in an effort to simplify matters, these problems will be regarded as a single, larger issue, namely, "Violations of UID."

Possible Mechanisms Causing Violations of UID

In view of the literature, there are two major types of possible interpretations of the apparent tendency for JEFL writers to violate UID in their English texts. In what follows I will discuss these, and why one in particular is the more plausible of the two in light of the data presented here.

A mismatch of genres?

Past studies of Japanese L2 learners have implied that because Japanese have been trained in conventions that differ from English, when they attempt to generate ideas within those conventions and transfer them over to English, their English texts end up reflecting the conventions of Japanese, resulting in incoherent, illogical, vague texts (see, for example, Doi, 1996; Hinds, 1983a, 1983b; Kobayashi, 1984; Nishihara, 1990; Oi, 1986; Oi & Kamimura, 1998; Okabe, 1983; Ostler, 1987). In other words, the conventions for Japanese and English writing presumably differ so much that when one is applied to another they can negatively impact the texts, but the JEFL writers are not aware of this. This interpretation is interesting in view of Tardy's (2012) claim that L1 writing and L2 writing are two distinct genres.

Writing is now generally accepted as a social act (Flairclough, 1992; Hyland, 2004; Moreno, 1997) and genres as different social practices with their own sets of expectations, or, to borrow Clark's (1985) terminology, "conventions" and "precedents," i.e., "coordination devices." From this perspective then, writing in another language is, in effect, writing in a different genre, which, accordingly, has its own set of coordination devices. Just as a writer cannot assume that the coordination devices of a business letter can be effectively and appropriately applied to an academic term paper, a L2 writer cannot apply a set of coordination devices from the L1 context because the precedent and conventions are not applicable to

their new social setting. A widespread claim of Japanese English writing is that the observed incoherent structure is a result of the Japanese applying L1 conventions to the L2, which simply do not "match" (see, for example, Doi, 1996; Hinds, 1983a, 1983b; Kobayashi, 1984; Nishihara, 1990; Oi, 1986; Oi & Kamimura, 1998; Okabe, 1983; Ostler, 1987).

Therefore, from this position it could be argued that if ideas for an English text are generated within the JEFL's L1, i.e., Japanese, those ideas may end up adopting coordination devices that are only applicable to the context in which they were originally generated for. So, when the JEFL writer attempts to bring the generated ideas into the English text they may end up violating or, at the very least, not meeting the expectations of their new social setting within the L2. Such an interpretation would in many ways seem to suggest that there is some cultural interference at play, which is a common assumption made of Japanese English writing in the literature (see, for example, Achiba & Kuromiya, 1983; Kaplan, 1966; Lee, 2011; Oi, 1986). But there are a number of issues with this interpretation.

First, this interpretation would directly conflict with other studies that have found L2 writers benefit from utilizing their L1 writing knowledge and experience and that there is a correlation between a learner's L2 writing ability and L1 writing ability (e.g., Carson & Kuehn, 1992; Kubota, 1998b; Kobayashi & Rinnert, 2012; 2013; Ma & Wen, 1999). Second, if indeed the JEFLs were applying L1 genre conventions to the L2, we would expect to see fewer SM relations in the L1, but this was not the case. In fact, the majority of the relations in the Japanese texts were SM (to be discussed later on in this chapter). Finally, it is important to note that if the JEFL writers are indeed "mismatching" genres, this would necessarily require that they have knowledge of at least one of the two genres in the first place, namely, Japanese. Yet, as will be discussed, Japanese generally lack training and experience in both L1 and L2 writing, which would imply that they also lack the knowledge of the conventions in both of these genres.

It is discrepancies like these that offer further evidence as to why interpretations of our data should not be based on concepts of culture. And it is for this very reason that I have attempted to avoid jumping to such speculations in my interpretations of any observed phenomena by affixing to more fundamental communication principles, specifically, CG theory. From this position then, the "mismatch of genres" interpretation becomes less convincing. Thus, for a more plausible interpretation, we must turn our attention towards the writers themselves.

Limited cognitive resources

A lower rate of SM relations in the JEFL texts could be indicative of a cognitive struggle occurring within the JEFL writers. Due to the limitation of cognitive resources while composing, the Japanese writers were forced to allocate resources to structural and linguistic components of the writing task rather than to the development of subject matter and content. According to Liu (2009, p. 64), the task of writing for L2 writers "consumes too much cognitive energy and produces too much mental load" to allow them to effectively manage all of its demands. This would seem to suggest that a L2 writer's cognitive capacity is finite and its expenditure in one area of a task, such as grammar, syntactic structure, or other similar local issues, would inevitably result in deficiencies elsewhere in that task. In other words, an over focus at the micro level would make it difficult, if not impossible, for a L2 writer to simultaneously manage macro-level elements of written discourse, such as consideration for what information has been given and what information needs to be given, i.e., UID. An overfocus like this at the micro level that is potentially negatively impacting the macro level can certainly be observed among the texts in the JEFL corpus, which may provide further evidence of a cognitive struggle occurring among these L2 writers.

For every 100 words in the JEFLs' texts, there were nearly 10 EDUs. In the NESs' texts, however, there were only seven EDUs per 100 words. In general, EDUs in the JEFL corpus were shorter and less complex than those in the NES corpus. This could account for the rather choppy and "loosely organized" feeling of the JEFL writing and indicates that the JEFL writers approached the writing task at the sentence level (constructing a coherent sentence was a task in and of itself), while the NES writers regarded the essay more as a single whole and approached it as such, resulting in a more coherent piece of writing.

Accordingly, it can be seen here how variances in structure can be reasonably explained for reasons beyond L1 rhetorical/cultural influence (or even genre conventions), which has often been viewed as the source of such issues in L2 writers in previous studies, as mentioned above. More specifically, if the Japanese L2 writers were allocating too much of their resources to the micro-level structure of their texts, this would not only account for issues in coherence at the macro level and the "loosely organized" structure of Japanese English texts but would also provide insight into why past studies have observed a tendency among Japanese to create "explicit linkage" at the micro level when writing in English (see Narita, Sato, & Sugiura, 2004).

Narita, Sato, and Sugiura (2004) claimed "explicit linkage" to be a deliberate decision made by the Japanese L2 writers in an effort to make meaning clearer for themselves, which I have argued is unlikely due to their limited cognitive capacity but did not offer an alternative explanation for their occurrences (see Chapter 2). The interpretation presented here, however, would suggest that "explicit linkage" was perhaps an unintentional consequence of the focus on micro-level structure (though this would need to be tested in future studies that investigate explicit connectors along with structure through RST or another similar analytical framework), effectively accounting for both the occurrences themselves as well as the fact that L2 writers' limited cognitive resources most likely would prevent them from making such purposeful decisions in their writing.

It is clear then that the additional cognitive demands allocated to the simple linguistic construction of ideas, such as syntax and lexical retrieval, may be taking the JEFL writers' attention away from effectively developing their ideas beyond the sentence level. As a result, the JEFL writers are unable to ground their ideas in a detailed and coherent description of the subject matter within their texts. We interpreted the lower rate of SM relations in the JEFL texts in this light, and it can also be seen reflected in the phenomena of less UID and in issues of redundancy. As we shall see, the same is true for phenomena to be discussed later on in this chapter, e.g., overuse of Justify relations and instances of Joints and dangling units.

This description also demonstrates that JEFL writers indeed seem to be wrestling with their limited cognitive resources due to their linguistic proficiency, or lack thereof, and this could account, at least in part, for observed issues of coherence in their English writing. But the limited cognitive resources cannot be attributed entirely to the JEFLs' linguistic proficiency in the L2. It is also very probable that JEFLs' struggles with writing in English extend beyond the language itself to include their abilities as writers, which is likely exacerbating these cognitive struggles.

Knowledge telling & knowledge transforming

A writer's skill level can be evaluated based on his/her ability to effectively manage the two domain problems of writing: the content domain and the rhetorical domain (Renkema, 2004). This is reflected in Bereiter and Scardamalia's (1987) models of writing development: "knowledge telling" and "knowledge transforming."

Knowledge telling essentially describes the writing ability of the beginner or novice writer—the ability to deal with the content domain problem but not yet capable of simultaneously managing the rhetorical domain problem. Writers who fall within this model are most concerned with generating content, and their main goal is simply to answer the question: "What should I write?" Once they are able to answer this question, they then attempt to "tell" the reader what they know about the topic at hand (Chuy, Scardamalia, & Bereiter, 2011; Renkema, 2004). Accordingly, English composition classes generally place emphasis on "the development of ideas and the soundness of the writer's logic" (Weigle, 2002, p. 5) to help beginner writers acquire the skills needed to generate ideas and then articulate them through writing.

Knowledge transforming involves a multidimensional skill set: the writer not only must consider the question, "What should I write?" but also questions like, "How do I present this to my reader?", "Am I being convincing enough?", "Am I making sense?", as well as numerous others (Chuy, Scardamalia, & Bereiter, 2011; Renkema, 2004). In other words, writers with knowledge transforming skills can manage both the content and rhetorical domain problems of writing (Renkema, 2004). It is unclear how or when a writer moves from knowledge telling to the more advanced knowledge transforming, but it would seem that one does not ever move out of knowledge telling but in fact extends beyond it to also encompass knowledge transforming, as implied by Renkema's (2004) cyclical description: "When writers ask themselves whether or not a certain concept is clear enough to the reader (rhetorical domain), then this question can lead to the concepts being more clearly defined (content domain) . . . ", which then leads to efforts to more clearly defining the concept (rhetorical domain) and so forth (p. 223). Accordingly, the control over idea development, i.e., content domain, opens up a writer's cognitive resources so that he/she is then able to also deal with the rhetorical domain. Yet to gain control over the content domain, a writer must have some background and/or training in writing, but this does not appear to be the case for many Japanese writers (as will be discussed momentarily). Thus, JEFL writers are further limited at the cognitive level so much so that all they appear to be able to accomplish is a surface-level structure (see Example 4.5).

#[2it is important for college students to have a part-time job.]#[3I have 3 reasons to support this opinion.]#[4Firstly, for students to learn how to manage money.]#[5College students do not have much money]#[6but they have lots of time]#[7so they tend to use it too much,]#[8they're not good at control it.]#[9If they work,]#[10they'll recognize the importance and value of money.]#[11And they're going to get responsibility against money.]#[12So they will never waste it.]

Example 4.5

In the above example, the JEFL writer clearly demonstrates an understanding of basic global structure. The thesis is put forth in the beginning and then the promise of three "reasons" to support the author's position is given. The reader then expects to see the first reason, which the writer provides: a part-time job will help "students to learn how to manage money." Up to this point, the JEFL writer has effectively handled both the content and rhetorical domains of writing, but the problem occurs as we proceed deeper into the discourse.

What follows "reason" should be the evidence for this reason—this is what a NES reader would expect, and it appears this is what the writer attempts but fails to accomplish. [Spans 5–12] is offered as evidence for the [Span 4] proposition, but the ideas offered are not grounded in anything tangible that the reader can grasp onto as support for [Span 4]. All the reader sees is a description of a typical college student's circumstance and the implicit causal relationship (i.e., they do not have a lot of money but they have a lot of time, so they end up spending more money than they should because of their free time) that may or may not be recognized, followed up with a condition on how a college student's view of money might change if he/she were to get a part-time job, which does not provide "evidence" for why a part-time job would help a "student to learn how to manage money." For the writer, this structure may make perfect sense: it seems to follow the rhetorical expectations (at the surface) of English writing. But the 'detail' of actually ensuring that the evidence provided support for the claim was overlooked, demonstrating a somewhat superficial understanding of the rhetorical domain and a general lack of control of the content domain.

It could very well be that the writer was coming from the assumption/belief that if a person's attitude toward money changes, it will change how that person uses it, e.g., an irresponsible person who comes to understand the value of money will learn how to better manage it. But this notion is not grounded anywhere within the subject matter of the text and cannot be easily inferred, thus the writer cannot reasonably assume the reader would be able to grasp it. This may be due to the fact that the writer does not possess the cognitive capacity to consider the reader (to be discussed shortly), let alone what the reader needs in order to infer meaning from the text.

This example shows how the writer has a superficial understanding of structure but is unable (and most likely unaware of how) to create coherence at a deeper level. The "superficial" or "surface-level" structure of JEFL writers is an observation made elsewhere in this study (e.g., artificial nuclei) and a tendency to "impose surface logicality where no deep logicality exists" (Crewe, 1990, p. 320) has been recognized of other L2 writers as well (see, for example, Hinkel, 2002). This could reasonably explain the apparent incoherence and illogicality of JEFL writers and also suggests it is not a phenomenon unique to Japanese.

This superficial approach to writing of the JEFL writers thus could be accounted for by considering that these writers have a facile understanding of the rhetorical expectations of English writing, perhaps due to the "cart-before-the-horse" approach that is typical in the L2 writing classroom (i.e., emphasis on rhetorical modes and global structure, as was discussed in Chapter 1). Clearly what JEFL writers (and perhaps L2 writers in general) need is to first acquire control over the content domain in order to expand their cognitive resources so that they are capable of managing the rhetorical domain.

Japanese as inexperienced writers

To better understand the constraints of the JEFL writers' cognitive resources, it is important to understand a little more about their experience as writers, since this plays a big part in determining not only the extent of the cognitive effort needed to complete a writing task but also the limits of that effort (Scardamalia & Bereiter, 1987; Halliday, 1975; Kellogg, 2001).

In Japan, very little emphasis is placed on writing in the English classrooms, as Hirose

(2003, p. 185) points out:

> Regarding L2 English writing, Japanese students' experience is practically non-existent. L2 writing instruction in high school is oriented toward translation from L1 to L2 at the sentence level. Because writing is the least emphasized skill in English language education at every level including university, it is possible for a Japanese non-English major university graduates [sic] not to have taken any English writing courses or not to have had any English writing experience.

This lack of writing instruction in the L2 classroom may be a reflection of the values of Japanese education, as it has also been noted that, in general, there is very little writing instruction in the L1. Reflecting upon her own L1 writing experience, Hirose (2003) states, "as a Japanese who was born and received education up to graduate school level in Japan, I have not taken a single L1 writing course, and other Japanese bilingual academics share this background" (p. 184). Other Japanese scholars have also made similar claims (see Yoshimura, 2002). This lack of experience in writing in the L1 may very likely affect how Japanese L2 learners write in English.

Japanese writers are not only wrestling with acquiring a new language and all that entails, including linguistic and cultural differences, but are also crafting their yet-to-be-developed writing skills, i.e., learning to manage both the content and rhetorical domain problems of writing. Such learners are clearly at a disadvantage as they are expected to undertake the daunting task of dealing with these issues in the L2 in which they are not yet sufficiently proficient. Therefore, to deal with their linguistic deficiencies and to help them develop their ideas, i.e., address the content domain problem, before writing them out in English, Japanese L2 writers may attempt to fall back on their L1 (Gosden, 1996; Kobayashi & Rinnert, 1992; Liu, 2009; van Weijen, van den Bergh, Rijlaarsdam, & Sanders, 2008). But such a strategy would only prove effective if the Japanese have some writing experience in their L1, which it appears many do not. Consequently, an inefficient development of ideas in Japanese English texts may be attributed to the lack of experience in the L1, and the ineffective development of ideas may be seen as a result of the lack of experience dealing with this new "genre," i.e., the L2. The JEFLs' inexperience further complicates matters since this means they do not have the cognitive capacity to even consider for whom they are developing their ideas; that is, they are unable to consider the absent reality—their reader.

Considering the reader, more commonly referred to as "audience awareness," is an important step in the cognitive development of writing and occurs when the "physical task of writing becomes automatic" (Carvalho, 2002, p. 271). Unlike spoken discourse, a writer does not have the benefit of immediate feedback (Kecskes, 2014). As Weigle (2002) explains, the lack of an addressee is a serious problem with which a writer must contend. Without the immediate feedback from the addressee that is afforded to speakers, the writer must consider "information about the writing topic," (i.e., UID) "information about acceptable forms of written texts" (i.e., genre), and "information about the audience" all simultaneously (Weigle, 2002, p. 18), echoing Berieter and Scardamalia's (1987) "knowledge transforming" model. For L2 writers, this task is particularly straining on their cognitive resources (Tillema, 2012). According to Weigle, it is the "inability to anticipate the audience and shape a message appropriately in the absence of a conversation partner that distinguishes expert from inexpert writers" (p. 120). In other words, audience awareness comes with experience in writing, which, as has been discussed, many Japanese lack in both the L1 and L2.

Cognitive overload and its effects

We have seen how the JEFL writers' cognitive resources are limited due to a combination of their linguistic proficiency, their writing skills, and their (lack of) experience as writers. What is important to note here is the fact that the inexperience of JEFL writers and their limited cognitive resources should not be considered in isolation from one another. In fact, these mechanisms cannot be fully explained or understood without giving consideration to the other.

The lack of writing experience among the JEFL writers makes it necessary for the learners to recruit more cognitive resources, which are already restricted due to the cognitively demanding task of producing a text in the L2. But these resources are further overloaded since the JEFL writers cannot turn to their L1 to lighten the cognitive load, and so they must allocate resources to stages of writing that for the more experienced writer are more or less automatic. So, what has been described here is, in principal, a single mechanism: the JEFL writers overload their cognitive resources in their attempts to write in English, which results in poorly or underdeveloped ideas since they are unable to allot enough of their resources to the development of ideas and all that entails, e.g., syntactic structure, lexical retrieval, audience awareness.

This cognitive overload may result in the omission of anticipated/expected relations, since the writer is incapable of recognizing when " . . . a sentence [is] insufficiently informative . . ." and thus fails to include the appropriate relation, e.g., Elaboration, for the reader to find (Hobbs, 1979, p. 74). Accordingly, the most plausible cause for the lower rate of SM relations is the limited cognitive resources of the JEFL writers, as not only does it explain the lower rate but also issues of vagueness and ambiguity in general. This proposition is further supported by other features that have been made visible through the qualitative analysis, namely, less UID (digressions, too many irrelevant details, and unintentional repetition).

Overrepresented Relations: A Closer Look

We are now in a position to connect this discussion on mechanisms and the way they are reflected in the texts to a qualitative discussion of a number of relations that are overrepresented in the JEFL corpus when compared to their frequency rate in the NES corpus (see the end of the section on quantitative data at the beginning of this chapter). What follows is a more detailed examination of five of those relations (Antithesis, Justify, Solutionhood, Contrast, and Joint) that are most likely to be negatively related to the coherence of the JEFL texts (see Table 4.1 in Appendix A). Each of these relations and their use will be analyzed in their context in order to present reasonable explanations as to why and/or how JEFL writers are producing English texts that are less coherent relative to texts written by NESs.

Antithesis

The Antithesis relation is defined as a subtype of Contrast as the situations in the nucleus and satellite are in contrast. As Mann and Thompson (1988) explain, "one cannot have positive regard for both the situations presented in N [nucleus] and S [satellite]; comprehending S [satellite] and the incompatibility between the situations presented in N and S increases R's [reader's] positive regard for the situation presented in N" (p. 253). In other words, a contrast occurs in positive regard for the nucleus. This is the core of the Antithesis relation. Like all RST definitions, interpreting a relation as Antithesis implies assumptions about the state of mind of the writer (Renkema, 2009), specifically that the writer has a positive attitude towards the idea presented in the nucleus. Issues in coherence may arise when this positive regard is not particularly apparent, which may be caused in a couple of ways.

First, if the satellite of the Antithesis makes up a large portion of the overall text, it may weaken the nucleus causing the author's position to appear uncertain. This can be observed in the lowest-assessed NES text (see Figure 4.3).

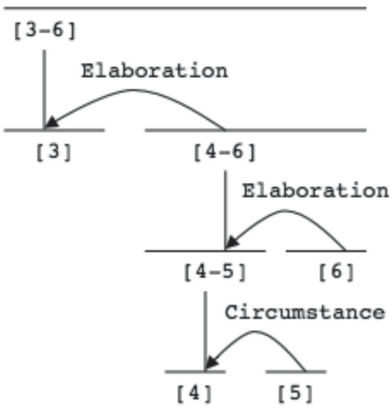


Figure 4.3. RST tree representing the rhetorical structure of NES text with lowest assessment

Of the fourteen spans that make up the entirety of the text, half are contained within the Antithesis satellite. Dedicating half of a text essentially contradicting one's self would seem to be counterproductive and certainly could lead to issues in coherence and logicality, leaving the reader to ask: "Does the writer think college students should have a part-time job or not?" This awkward use of the Antithesis could mean that specific types of relations do not necessarily dictate a text's quality but rather their effective/appropriate use does. This is further exemplified through the JEFL texts.

In the JEFL corpus, the Antithesis would sometimes appear in the middle or towards the end of the text and then go on for nearly an equal length as the initial thesis and its supporting ideas. One instance of such an occurrence can be found in the following excerpt (see Example 4.6), which occurs when the author has clearly indicated the first 12 segments of the text that college students should not be taking part-time jobs:

#[13On the contrary, having a part-time job itself can teach something important to us.]#[14For example, through a part-time job]#[15we can realize the value of money,]#[16or realize our parents' effort to raise us,]#[17know how we can give better service to the customers,]#[18or encounter many people and enhance our knowledge.]#[19Those are the good aspects of having a part-time job,]#[20and we cannot do those things]#[21by just reading our textbook or something like that.]#

Example 4.6

After explaining the "bad aspect" of having a part-time job as a college student in [Span 1–12], the author here introduces a number of "good aspects." It is as if the author changed his position or, at the very least, softened it only to conclude that it is still better for college students to have a part-time job. The issue here is that the contrast that occurred did not create positive regard for the nucleus but for the satellite. As a result, the author's stance is diminished, and the reader is left wondering for which position the author was in favor. This certainly creates a feeling of illogicality and ambiguity. Thus, it is perhaps not so much the frequency of the Antithesis relation as it is how well the content of the segments being related fit and support the relation within the text.

Furthermore, the placement of the Antithesis in the text seems to affect the coherence. The three Antithesis relations found in the NES corpus all occurred towards the beginning of the text. In contrast, the Antithesis was found in the middle or towards the end of the JEFL texts. Intuitively, it seems natural that an Antithesis towards the end would produce a perceived *weakening* of the author's ultimate position, while the effect of one at the beginning is only to set possible objections aside before presenting all the supporting arguments, resulting in the perception of a strong and well-supported, ultimate position (though this is less true if it occupies too much of the overall text, as seen in the lowest-assessed NES text). It is also interesting to note that none of the NES texts that were regarded as well-written contained Antithesis relations, while this relation occurred in two of the five less well-written texts.

The Antithesis relation is clearly a less common rhetorical relation to occur as its frequency, on average, was among the lowest of relations to occur amongst the texts in both corpora. A closer investigation suggests that when the relation does not successfully create a positive regard for the nucleus, it may contribute to ambiguity in the writing. Additionally, its placement within the hierarchy of the text may play a role in producing or inhibiting coherent structure.

Justify

Looking at the quantitative data, it can be seen that the average occurrence of the Justify relation among all 22 JEFL texts was nearly three relations for each text. In the NES texts, however, the Justify relation occurred less than once in each text. This might suggest that frequency of the relation within a single text could have something to do with quality; if this were the case, it would only logically follow that the relation would occur more frequently in the less well-written NES texts and less frequently in the well-written ones. However, the Justify relation appeared

nine times among the six well-written NES texts (3:2 ratio) and five times among the five less well-written texts (1:1 ratio). Accordingly, the frequency rate cannot account for any differences in quality between the two corpora. Observations of this relation and its position may shed some light on the issue.

The Justify relation is one half of the subgroup Evidence and Justify. While Evidence increases the reader's belief in the nucleus, the intention of the Justify relation satellite is to "increase the reader's readiness to accept the writer's right to present" the nucleus (Mann & Thompson, 1987, p. 9). In other words, the writer is trying to convince the reader that he/she has good reason to present the proposition in the nucleus, but the Justify relation does not provide any content for the proposition itself and does not move the argumentation forward. It simply relates two units of text on the basis that "one of them is deemed likely to increase the reader's acceptance of the other" (Mann & Thompson, 1987, p. 17). It is essentially a relation that occurs within its own span but does not extend beyond that span content wise other than to support the nucleus that plays a connective role within the hierarchy of the text. This can be effective when the Justify relation occurs within a supporting detail for the overall main idea of the text, as seen in the following (see Example 4.7):

#[1College is a transitional time from dependence to independence for most people in modern society.]#[2I think it is important for college students to have a part-time job,]# [3and I shall support my claim with three points.]#

Example 4.7

In Example 4.7, [Span 1–3] is formed through the satellite, [Span 1], being connected to the nucleus, [Span 2–3], by the Justify relation. The author presents the idea that "college is a transitional time from dependence to independence" so that the reader will be inclined to accept the writer's right to claim that part-time jobs are important for college students. The coherence of this span is further improved by the content that follows this span. The "three points" can all be traced back to the notion of college as a time for young people to transition from being dependent on their parents and others to being independent and self-sufficient. Furthermore, the order of these spans seems to be conventional.

According to Mann and Thompson (1987), the satellite before the nucleus is the canonical order of spans for the Justify relation[18]. Of the Justify relations that occurred among the well-written NES texts, eight occurred before the nucleus. In contrast, four of the five occurrences among the less well-written NES texts appeared after the nucleus. Though the frequency rate is too low to make any statistical claims, there does appear to be a pattern that suggests that the Justify relation following the nucleus is the preferred order, as Mann and Thompson (1987) first argued. This, however, was not the tendency among the JEFL English texts. Thirty-five of the 62 Justify relations that appeared in the JEFL corpus were positioned in front of the nucleus while 27 of them came after (see Example 4.8).

```
#[4When they enter a company,]#[5they experience many
things that they will not have done.]#[6There is a big
difference between company and college.]#
```

Example 4.8

In Example 4.9, the author is justifying his/her claim that students will experience many things that they have not done before because work and college differ considerably from one another. As is, however, the posterior satellite feels abrupt and awkwardly placed. Moving the satellite to an anterior position, on the other hand, helps to create a more logical flow of ideas within this span: "There is a big difference between company and college. When they enter a company, they experience many things that they will not have done." Of course, this text would benefit cohesively with the use of a logical connector and/or revisions to the syntactic structure, but, as is, the ideas in this position appear to relate more coherently than in their original position. One plausible explanation for the common reversal of the Justify relation position in the JEFL corpus is that the JEFL writer is trying to create an Evidence relation, which is plausible considering the typical function and position of Evidence relations.

Evidence relations may assist at not only building upon ideas but moving them forward within a text (Mann & Thompson, 1987) and can thus effectively drive content forward. Accordingly, the satellite in an Evidence relation is typically observed in successive order to the nucleus, as was the case in the highest-assessed NES text (see Figure 4.4).

18 Non-canonical span order is entirely possible and occurs frequently in natural texts. According to Mann and Thompson (1987), however, converting "instances of non-canonical span order to canonical order . . . often improves [text quality]" (pp. 16-17).

The text in Example 4.9 appears to be replicating the canonical order of an Evidence relation, by placing the satellite after the nucleus, but the content of the relation in fact aligns itself more with Justify (see Example 4.9).

#[3It is because I think being a college student means to take a step forward into a social life as an adult.]#[4Our parents may pay our schools expenses.]#[5Yet we are already old enough to earn our own allowances.]#

Example 4.9

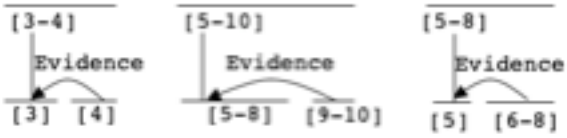


Figure 4.4. RST tree representing the occurrence of multiple dangling units in a JEFL text.

What the writer appears to be trying to convey in this text is: "Even though our parents may still be paying for expensive things, such as college tuition, as college students we are now old enough to take care of ourselves in some small ways like adults." [Span 4–5] is attempting to increase the belief in the reader that college is a step towards adulthood by using age as evidence of this claim, that claim being: "In college we are now old enough to take care of ourselves in some ways." However, the content does not seem to hold for this function. As such, it serves more to justify the initial claim. This placement, however, causes an awkward rhetorical relation that negatively impacts the logical flow of these spans. Therefore, it appears that not only does placement affect a text's quality but the writer's intended function of the satellite versus the content of the satellite can dictate placement and, in turn, a text's quality, i.e., coherence. Structure versus function will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, but, for now, these observations point to possible reasons as to why the JEFL texts differ from the NES texts and could thus be considered less coherent, more illogical, etc.

Solutionhood

The Solutionhood relation was not a particularly common relation in either of the corpora (a frequency of 2.97 PNS among the NES texts and of 4.26 PNS among the JEFL texts). However, as it occurred 30% more frequently in the JEFL texts than in the NES texts, a closer investigation is warranted, especially when looking at the effect these sorts of relations have on the coherence of the texts.

A Solutionhood relation occurs when the nucleus presents a solution to a problem stated in the satellite (see Example 4.10).

#[3I major in engineering, and for me,]#[4it will be almost impossible to get a good job]#[5when I finish my degree]#[6if I do not have some previous work experience.]#[7For other students with technical majors, I think the case is similar,]#[8and they should find some way to incorporate part-time work into their curriculum.]#

Example 4.10

In Example 4.10, the writer presents a problem in the satellite [Span 7] ("the case is similar" refers to the difficulty of getting a good job) and offers a solution to that problem in the nucleus [Span 8], namely, a part-time job will help students with technical degrees get good jobs when they graduate. This problem relates to the issue at hand within the text, that is, should college students work part time or not? In this case the Solutionhood relation plays a connective role within the hierarchy of the text and does not seem to break the coherent theme; however, if the problem and solution do not appear to relate to the overall idea of the text, this may cause problems in coherence (see Example 4.11).

#[28Now in Japan, the economic situation is not good.]#[29And the companies hire less people than usual.]#[30So they're in trouble because of lack of staff.]#[31If companies hire general people,]#[32they have to pay much money.]#[33But for students, the pay is only 800 yen per hour.]#[34Companies must want to hire students more than general people].

Example 4.11

The structure of [Span 28–34] holds both content and function wise within its own span; however, when looking at the role it plays in the hierarchy of the text, its coherence is less obvious due to the content. The writer of this text claims that it is important for a college student to have a part-time job because 1) it teaches him/her how to manage money, 2) to work and function in society, and 3) helps companies save money. The first two points seem to support the thesis; however, the third point, i.e., part-time jobs help companies save money, is a bit out of place. It, in fact, has nothing to do with college students, at least not in a positive way (companies wanting to hire college students as cheap labor would appear to be a negative point for a college student). However, any attempt to understand why the writer of this text regarded this point as positive rather than negative would be purely speculative[19]. Nonetheless, it is clear that the logic and reasoning of this particular writer does not meet the expectations of the reader and could easily be regarded as fallacious. Thus, once again, the content of these relations as opposed to the relations themselves and their frequencies may affect coherence in writing.

#[19]We are student now.]#[20]But about three years later, we will be workers in social world.]#[21]I think that I have not prepared to be a worker yet,]#[22]but now is a chance to prepare.]#

Example 4.12

There are cases, however, where both content and the function of the relation hold but still cause issues in coherence. In Example 4.12 above, the issue is not with the relation formed between these spans, as the content appears to hold; however, [Span 19–22] is one span of three that makes up a Joint. This Joint is floating in the rest of the text since the content in each span does not effectively connect to the thesis and its main ideas. In this case, the content within the span works to create a coherent unit within itself, but this coherence does not extend beyond the span into the hierarchy of the text. In the previous Example 4.11, coherence is broken because the logic does not follow despite the attempts of the writer to construct the text as a coherent whole. In Example 4.12, however, the Solutionhood relation is itself not a problem but it makes up a Joint that is not part of the coherence within the hierarchy of the text.

19 An argument could be made for the Japanese cultural tendency to be more socially oriented and concerned for the greater good of society, like supporting important businesses, over the wellbeing of the individual.

Again, due to the low frequency of this relation, it is difficult to make any definite conclusions regarding its role in text quality; however, the few instances of the Solutionhood relation observed among the JEFL texts show that these writers struggled with incorporating this rhetorical relation into a coherent whole. This may be why the relation occurred infrequently, especially among the NES texts. Another possible explanation is that the prompt simply did not lend itself to this type of rhetorical relation, and therefore its appearance caused the observed issues in coherence.

Contrast

Contrast relations occurred nearly 40% more frequently in the JEFL corpus than it did in the NES corpus. However, this frequency rate does not tell us much about the differences between the two corpora, as the general category of Contrast subsumes a number of rather different subtypes: within the RST framework, these are Antithesis (already discussed to some extent above), Concession, and the Multinuclear (MN) Contrast, the first two of which comprise one prominent element (the nucleus), the latter comprising several units equal in terms of its importance within the span as well as their connection to the rest of the text. On top of that, numerous types of contrast are distinguished in the literature (Spenader & Lobanova, 2009) such as "denial of expectation" (see Wolf & Gibson, 2005), "semantic opposition" (see Lakoff, 1971), and "contrast proper." Therefore, it may be more insightful to look at the content of the contrast in our corpus data to see if qualitative differences exist there.

In the JEFL texts, Contrast usually occurred when the writer was comparing college with work, such as Example 4.13.

```
#[22In a college, it is difficult to find so many kinds
of friends]#[23because ages and departments are
limited]#[24However, if we work,]#[25we can meet any kinds
of people regardless of ages or spatiality.]#
```

Example 4.13

This comparison between work and college seems to be a way the JEFL writers presented their arguments, that is, presenting the pros versus the cons. In other words, the Contrast relation was explicitly used only at the level of the overall main idea of the text, giving the text a somewhat 'flat,' list-like character.

NES writers used the relation also but in a less superficial way; in other words, their texts displayed more hierarchy. For example, the Contrast relation was used more to compare students who worked part time versus students who do not, either in a general sense (see Example 4.14), or more specifically with the writer using him/herself as an example (see Example 4.15).

#[1Many college students enjoy having a part-time job,]#[2but many college students also feel that they have enough work in their classes that they will no[t] be able to balance the demands upon their time that having a part-time job would impose.]#

Example 4.14

#[4Before I came to college,]#[5I had no work experience,]#[6but now that I've been a (sic) college for a while,]#[7I have gained enough experience to consider myself ready to enter the business world]#[8when I graduate from school next year.]#

Example 4.15

In example 4.14, it would appear that [Unit 1] and [Unit 2] are connected to one another by a Concession; however, the thesis of this text is that a part-time job is dependent on the student's situation. These units present two situations, namely, students who enjoy part-time work and students who feel overwhelmed with part-time work. As such, each unit is of equal importance, i.e., they are both nuclei. The writer in Example 4.15 uses him/herself as evidence for why a part-time job is important for college students. In both of these examples, the content of the Contrast is much more insightful than the Contrast relations that occur among the JEFL texts. This may be one reason why this relation occurred less frequently among the NES texts. The Contrast relation occurrences in the JEFL corpus though more frequent were less in depth. They floated on the surface of the text (once again demonstrating the JEFLs' "surface-level" understanding of structure) so that their connections to the rest of the text were explicitly made.

Many of the JEFL writers appeared to adopt the compare/contrast rhetorical mode for the whole of the essay, one of the most common modes taught early in the composition classroom. In contrast, the NES writers did not rely on the Contrast relation alone for organizational purposes but rather embedded it within the hierarchy of the text so that it did not dictate the organization of the essay nor was its appearance overly conspicuous. Accordingly, it is not necessarily the number of times the relation occurred but the capacity it was used in, that may correlate with the quality of a text.

Joint

A Joint relation occurs when two units do not hold any rhetorical relation between themselves or within the hierarchy of the text (see Example 4.16).

```
#[17I think that a part-time job tells us many important
things,]#[18and I think that it can make us a good person,
too.]#
```

Example 4.16

In Example 4.16, the two units relate to one another in no specific way. Though they are syntactically connected via the conjunction "and," it is unclear how "important things" and "good person" are related. Furthermore, both the prior and subsequent texts to this span have nothing to do with the ideas discussed in either of these units. When using RST relations in a search for errors in coherence, the Joint is perhaps the most blatant identifier of such errors. It is no surprise then that Joints occur more frequently in less coherent texts than in coherent ones. And, since the point of this study is to find possible explanations for the fact that the texts written by JEFL writers are perceived as less coherent than the texts written by NES writers, the fact that Joint relations occurred much more often in the JEFL corpus was to be expected.

Nevertheless, there were still occurrences of Joints among the NES texts. Oddly enough, however, they alone did not necessarily point to a less well-written text. In fact, none of the five texts regarded as "less well-written" contained a Joint. Even more surprising is that one of the NES texts considered to be "well-written" contained a Joint. In this case, however, the Joint occurred between the main body of the text `[Span 1–14]` and the concluding sentence `[Span 15]` (see Example 4.17). `[Span 1–14]` was cohesive and followed a logical structure. It was not until the final sentence that this coherence was interrupted. This could be why the text

was still regarded as "well-written," as the Joint that occurs floats at the end of the text. A single unit at the end of the text that does not hold any specific rhetorical relation with the rest of the text may not have been so detectable to the NES readers, especially considering the majority of the text prior to the Joint was all related.

#[1A part-time job is a great way for any student to expand their skill set.]#[2This is an important part of developing as a college student anyway,]#[3so I think is a great idea for any college student to have a part-time job.]#[4Part-time work can teach are many lessons that you would never have the chance to learn]#[5if you spend all your time just doing the assigned class work.]#[6For instance, although a busy college class schedule can teach time management,]#[7there is nothing like the demands of several different activities to really hot new skills.]#[8Also, students can gain an appreciation for financial management]#[9and they can learn about what it really means to be a working adult in the modern society.]#[10I know that when I first entered college,]#[11I was somewhat immature,]#[12and my first part-time job taught me a lot about responsibility and what it means to be an adult.]#[13I would never have been able to stay in school pursuing an advanced degree]#[14if I have not learned how to work hard and manage myself effectively.]#[15Last, the money that students can gain from a part-time job is usually enough to cover any personal expenses they may have.]#

Example 4.17

When a Joint occurs in the middle of a text or makes up a large portion of a text, however, it may be much more noticeable. In Example 4.18, [Span 24-27] make up a coherent whole but interrupts the flow of ideas between [Span 23] and [Span 28].

#[23Getting a part time job is one of the choices students can choose.]# [24Of course students can select another choice,]# [25for example circle-activity, volunteer, getting license etc]#[26Those are important and meaningful,]#[27but we can not get money through those things]#[28A part time job is a valuable choice that we can get money, experiment, and friends.]#

Example 4.18

What I suspect has happened here is that the writer was attempting to incorporate a counter-argument and rebuttal into his/her essay. These elements are commonly taught in the writing classroom as an effective strategy in argumentative writing. In the preceding text, the writer's position was that part-time jobs help students 1) get used to working, 2) help them get "know-how," and 3) help them make friends. Perhaps the writer felt that his/her reader would consider other "choices" that could result in those three things. His/her rebuttal to that was that none of those other activities can help one earn money. However, money was not discussed prior to this, so it felt digressive even though it is likely the writer had a rationale for this unit and its placement, such as a counter-argument and rebuttal.

Many of the Joint relations that occurred in the JEFL texts appeared to occur due to the inability of the writer to effectively help the reader recognize the connection between each unit. In Example 4.19 (see below), it would appear that [Unit 13] and [Units 14-16] are connected in the writer's mind, but that connection is not made clear to the reader.

#[13Third, you can be conscious of being no longer a child.]# [14And you can feel how graceful your parents are.]#[15If you have never thought your parent troubles,]#[16it will be a chance to think of them.]#

Example 4.19

It seems the writer felt that being aware that one is no longer a child is related in some way to being "graceful" to one's parents (presumably meaning "grateful"). This relation, however, is not clear to the reader. It could be argued that relations like this exemplify the "reader-responsible" characteristic of Japanese writing as first proposed by Hinds (1983a; 1983b) and thus display an influence of the L1 and culture on the English writing. However, it is also just as likely that the writer lacked

the linguistic capacity to create a coherent structure within this span. It could also be possible that the writer was simply inexperienced and lacked writing skills as has been seen and discussed throughout this chapter. Both explanations thus suggesting issues at the cognitive level. In any case, it is impossible to know the cause for such errors without investigating the writer him/herself. But for the purposes of this study the reason for this incoherence is not of as much importance as the fact that the incoherent structure occurred, which points to another plausible reason as to why Japanese English writing may be regarded as less coherent and more illogical when compared to NESs' writing, namely, connections between ideas are not made clear to the reader.

Dangling Units/Cross Dependencies

Though the quantitative data suggests the occurrence of dangling units/cross dependencies in the JEFL corpus is significantly higher, the small data set makes it difficult to rely on these quantitative results but does bring attention to the issue and thus warrants a deeper investigation.

Several of the observed dangling units were found towards the beginning of the text and appear as if the JEFL writer was attempting to create an "introduction" for his/her text. In Example 4.21, the writer opens with a question; this type of "hook" is commonly taught in L2 writing classes and frequently used by L2 writers. The span then concludes with the author's position, that is, a thesis. It would then naturally follow for the writer to support this position, that is, why does he think that a job is "good guidance to working in the world?" However, rather than elaborating on his/her original position, the author starts the text all over again with what reads like a completely different introduction (see `[Span 8-12]` in Example 4.20).

```
#[1What your dream?]#[2Being lawyers or scientists?]#[3You
can do anything if you keep trying.]#[4However, we should
learn to be sociable]#[5before working in the real
world.]#[6I think a part-time job could be good guidance
to working in the world]#[7so I think it's important
for college students.]# [8Today, I'd like to speak about
my opinion of part-time jobs.]#[9This speech consists
of 3 parts.]#[10First part is definition,]#[11second is
merits and demerits of part-time jobs]#[12and last is
conclusion.]#
```

Example 4.20

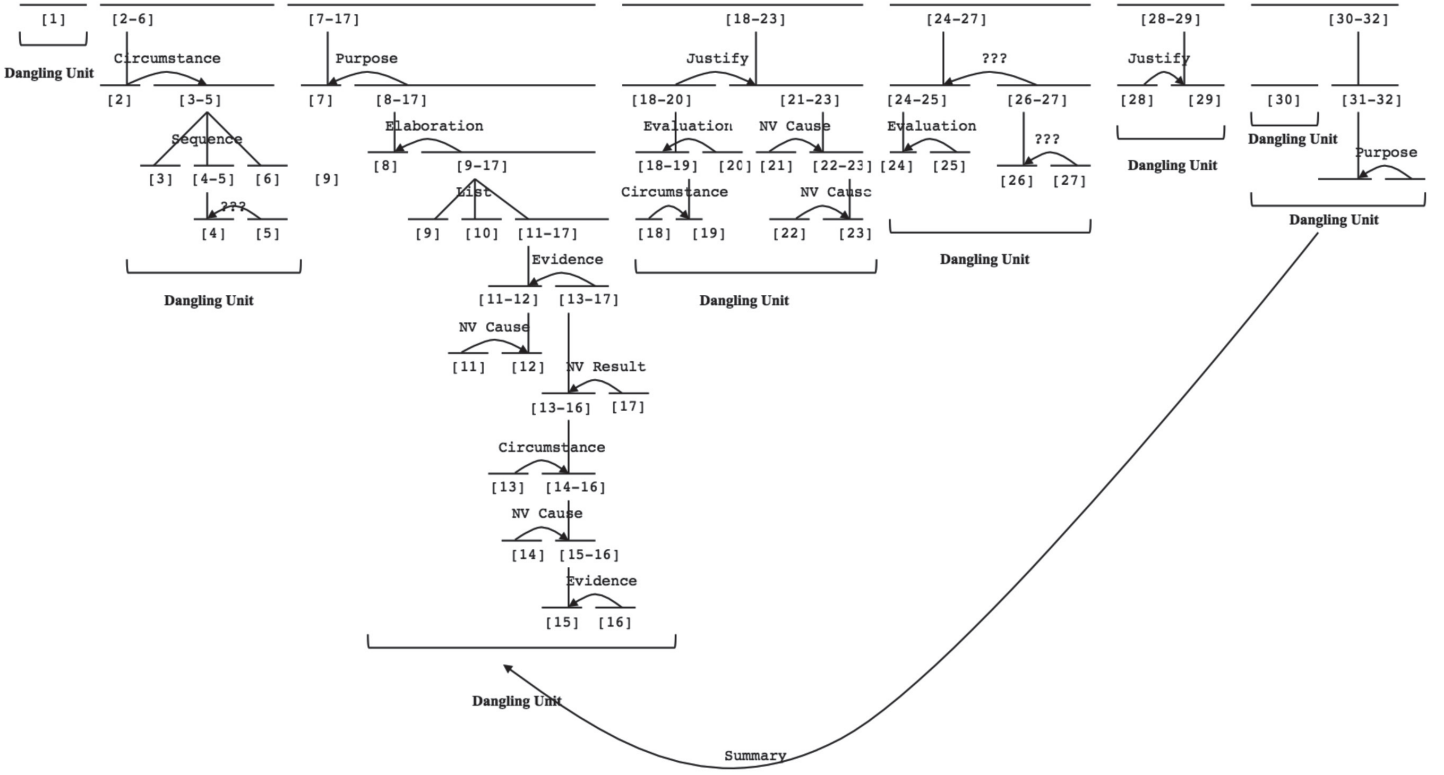


Figure 4.5. RST tree representing the occurrence of multiple dangling units in a JEFL text.

The diagnosis that [Span 8–12] acts as a second introduction is further supported by the fact that the text that follows aligns itself, or attempts to align itself, with the pattern described in [Span 8–12] just as an introduction lays out the body of the essay for a reader. The initial unit of text, that is [Span 1–12], could be entirely cut without any detrimental effect to the hierarchy of the text. Thus, [Span 1–7] and [Span 8–12] each "dangle" on their own, do not interact with one another nor with the rest of the text, and seem to serve no purpose beyond its own unit.

In another example, multiple dangling units occur within the same text (see Figure 4.5). If dangling units are symptoms of incoherence, it is not surprising then that the more of them occur in a particular text, the poorer the text is to be evaluated. In fact, as mentioned previously, 8 of the 13 dangling units in the JEFL corpus occurred in a single text alone (the one of which Example 4.20 is taken). As can be seen from Figure 4.5, [Span 1], [Span 2–6], [Span 7–17], [Span 18–23], [Span 24–27], [Span 28–29], and [Span 30–32], lack any rhetorical relation to their adjacent spans. They "dangle" within the text and seem to simply function as lone units of text, contributing nothing to developing a cohesive whole. Additionally, [Span 30–32] crosses over three sets of spans to connect to [Span 7–17], breaking the *adjacency* constraint of RST and resulting in a cross dependency.

It should also be mentioned that the text from which Figure 4.5 is derived is full of incomprehensible content. This is a strong indication of the writer's limited linguistic competence, which is often the cause of dangling units (Skoufaki, 2009). Thus, the occurrence of dangling units is not necessarily due to a writer's lack of ability to create a cohesive text. Nevertheless, whatever the cause is (it is, after all, the point of this study to simply pinpoint errors, not to understand from where those errors were derived), the relatively high occurrence of dangling units in the JEFL corpus contributes to their relatively lower quality from an L1 point of view.

The occurrence of dangling units in the NES corpus illustrates that though cohesion may be established superficially through connectors and syntactic structures, RST is capable of unearthing units that affect cohesion of a text (see Example 4.21) even if its intrusion is less than obvious on the surface.

#[9Another benefit is that if someone makes the wrong decision,]#[10they always have the choice of undoing that decision since part-time jobs in college are not that serious.]#

Example 4.21

The NES writer uses the connector "another" implying that previous benefits have been discussed, but prior to this unit no "benefits" of part-time work had been discussed. In fact, the main idea of this text was that a part-time job is beneficial depending on the individual student's situation. As such, this span is "dangling" as it really serves no purpose in the hierarchy of the text and in fact intrudes upon its cohesion despite the author's attempt to use lexicon to connect it to the rest of the whole. Thus, though the author has the linguistic aptitude to create cohesion, cohesion does not in fact occur, which suggests that advanced language skills do not necessarily equip a writer to be capable of creating a coherent text.

One last important point to mention is that due to the nature of how RST is defined, there is always the possibility of multiple interpretations of a text (Mann, Matthiessen, & Thompson, 1989). Accordingly, there may also be multiple diagnoses of problems in a text, especially if the text is not well structured. An example of this can be seen in Example 4.23, which, unlike the original analysis of the text (see Appendix D), offers an alternative analysis that identifies a dangling unit, or, more specifically, a cross dependency in the placement of the Evidence satellite as a source of its poor structure (see Example 4.22).

#[3Firstly, a part-time job is an important chance to experience the society.]#[4Because a college is the place to prepare]#[5before going to the real society.]#[6Part-time job is very necessary to know how severe working is or how we can enjoy it.]#

Example 4.22

The rhetorical structure for this text can be represented as follows (see Figure 4.6), which indicates that `[Span 4–5]` intrudes upon the rhetorical relationship between `[Unit 3]` and `[Unit 6]`.

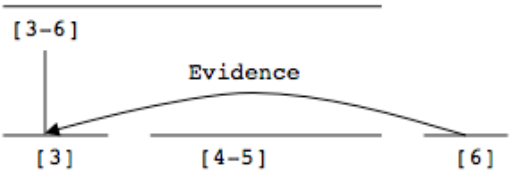


Figure 4.6. RST analysis of [Span 3–6] revealing a cross dependency

In this interpretation, the actual content of the argument, that is, the evidence for the position stated in [Unit 3], could be seen as occurring in [Unit 6], with the intervening [Span 4–5] implying that one should especially take advantage of part-time work and its benefits in college. It is thus the intrusion of [Span 4–5] and its implicitness that creates incoherence in the text. A more coherent version of this text could be written as shown in Example 4.23.

> A part-time job is an important chance to experience society, because it is necessary to know how severe work is; and one should take this chance when in college because college is the time to prepare for society.

Example 4.23

Though the lack of quantitative data here makes it difficult to make a claim with any degree of certainty, the occurrence of dangling units/cross dependencies at a much higher frequency rate in the JEFL corpus does suggest that texts written by JEFL writers tend to suffer from errors in coherence more often than texts written by NES writers. This phenomenon could also be one possible reason why past studies have identified English texts written by Japanese writers as ambiguous, illogical, and loosely organized (see, for example, Connor, 2005; Harder, 1983; Nishihara, 1990; Okabe, 1983; Shimozaki, 1988).

Artificial Nucleus

While investigating the frequency of relations and the types of relations used in each corpus, a commonly occurring anomaly in the JEFL corpus was observed. There were multiple instances where the structure of a span appeared to follow but, when carefully scrutinized, it became clear the content did not hold the intended structure. This was observed in how JEFL writers employed a number of different types of relations. This was the result of what I am terming "artificial nuclei" or nuclei that structurally appear to function but their content does not hold their

intended function as nuclei. For example, in one text, the author begins by stating that he/she has three reasons for believing students should have a part-time job (see Example 4.24).

```
#[1I agree with this statement,][2and I think that college
students should have a part-time job.]#[3I have three
reasons for this.]#
```

Example 4.24

As the text continues, the author creates three spans that act as Elaboration satellites on the nucleus [Unit 3]. Those Elaboration spans are made of three separate spans: [Span 4-15], which presents the first reason, [Span 16-19], which presents the second reason, followed by [Span 20-26], which gives the third and final reason for the author's position. Together these three separate spans and [Unit 3] form [Span 3-26], which together act as an Evidence satellite for the MN statement [Span 1-2]. While the first span [Span 4-15] and the third span [Span 20-26] follow an expected structure and the content of each of those spans complement the author's intended structure, the second span [Span 16-19] appears to deviate from what the author intends and what the structure and the content actually perform. While the author's intention is to present [Unit 16] as the second reason for why college students should have a part-time job, the content of that unit does not hold that function (see Example 4.26).

```
#[16Second, having a part-time job gives them a lot of
information about the occupation.]#[17Then if they have a
several kinds of jobs in their university days,]#[18they
can know what kind of jobs they really want to do in the
future.]#[19I mean that having a part-time job brings
happy lives for college students.]#
```

Example 4.25

As written, this span's rhetorical structure is as follows:

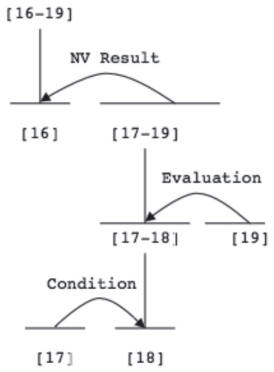


Figure 4.7. RST tree representing the rhetorical structure of Example 4.25.

It is clear that the author of this text intended for [Span 16–18] to act as the second reason with [Unit 16] being that reason or the nucleus and [Unit 17], [Unit 18], and [Unit 19] acting as satellites resulting in the above rhetorical structure; however, [Unit 16] does not in fact provide the reader with a reason as to why college students should have a part-time job. Rather, it is [Unit 17], [Unit 18], and [Unit 19] that actually present the reason while [Unit 16] elaborates on the reason. Accordingly, the structure of this span reflects the intention of the author but the content of each unit does not effectively produce the structure the author intended. In other words, the structure is forced upon the content instead of the content lending to the structure. As such, the span reads clumsily and as a result affects the natural coherence within the span and thereby within the text as a whole. So, while the author did effectively form the rhetorical structure in the way he/she connected and related ideas, that structure is only at the surface level, as what is being said does not effectively maintain it. This type of surface-level structure was also observed in the appearance of redundancy and attributed to a lack of control of the content domain and oversimplified understanding of the rhetorical domain of English writing, i.e, inexperience in writing[20]. Rather, the following text illustrates a better match between structure and content.

20 The "artificial nucleus" differs from previous observations made in that the content does not lend to the structure—they are at odds—, while in related issues of surface-level structure discussed earlier in this chapter found that the content was weak, ineffective, and even abstruse, but not particularly in disagreement with the writer's intended structure.

#[16Second, having a part-time job can help students know what kind of job they really want to do in the future.]#[17If they have several kinds of jobs in their university days,]# [18(+19)they can get a lot of information on what jobs make them happy.]#

Example 4.26

In this rewrite, the length of the span is shortened since [Unit 19] is combined with [Unit 18] to create one single unit; however, what the author originally stated remains the same. The difference in this version is that the rhetorical structure of the span has been altered to better match the author's intention, i.e., presenting the reason first and then elaborating on that reason, thereby bringing about greater coherence (see Figure 4.8).

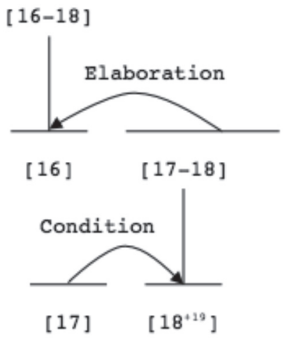


Figure 4.8. RST tree representing the rhetorical structure of Example 4.26.

Here is another occurrence of an artificial nucleus in a JEFL text:

#[3Firstly, it is because it is good chance for college students to take part in job]#[4until they graduates from college and have a full-time job.]#[5This is useful to find their full-time job.]#

Example 4.27

In Example 4.27, [Unit 3], though structured as the nucleus, cannot effectively perform that function as its content provides the reader with no reason as to why college students should have a part-time job. In fact, the reason does not appear until [Unit 5]. Essentially then, [Unit 5] performs the function of the nucleus content wise but the way in which the span is organized indicates the author intends for [Unit 3] to act as the nucleus (see Figure 4.9). In other words, [Unit 3] is an artificial nucleus, acting as a nucleus only at the structural level. The structure, however, becomes less established when the content of the nucleus is scrutinized making it "artificial" in the sense that it does not uphold the structure the author is attempting to create.

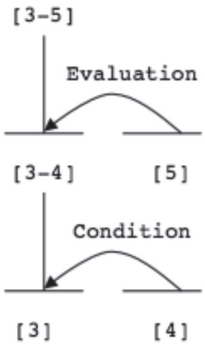


Figure 4.9. RST tree representing the rhetorical structure of Example 4.27.

Rewriting the text as follows (see Example 4.29), however, corrects the structure by removing the artificially marked nucleus and restructuring it so that [Unit 5] in the original text becomes the true nucleus, now [Unit 3], in the rewritten text of the span, which, in turn, establishes a more coherent text.

#[3Firstly, a part-time job can help prepare college students for full-time work after they graduate.]#[4Part-time jobs are a good chance to get experience working]#[5until it is time for them to get a full-time job.]#

Example 4.28

In this new version, it also becomes apparent that the satellites of the original text were in fact providing very little information to the reader. In this rewritten text, the satellite [Span 4-5] is simply restating the nucleus (see Figure 4.10), so we

once again see the problem of redundancy that has now become apparent due to its restructuring. It is clear in its new form that [Span 4–5] is restating [Span 3]. So in this structure a Restatement relation is an appropriate tag, unlike in the original structure in which the JEFL writer did not appear to be making a conscious decision to restate the nucleus. Rather he/she simply lacked the ability to build upon the idea in the nucleus through his/her writing. This is evident by the fact that if the JEFL writer had indeed intended a Restatement relation, he/she would have structured the text in a way similar to its now revised structure as shown in Figure 4.9. Still, it is apparent that the JEFL writer was aware of what was expected of him/her as he/she attempted to structure the text in a way that would meet the rhetorical expectations of NESs, but that structure fails to develop due to the lack of development of ideas.

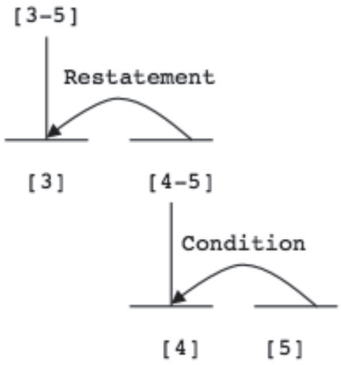


Figure 4.10. RST tree representing the rhetorical structure of Example 4.28.

These kinds of phenomena as seen in Examples 4.25 and 4.27 were, although infrequent, observed only in the texts of the JEFL corpus (none were observed in the NES corpus). What appears to be happening is that the JEFL writer has an awareness of the rhetorical expectations of NESs and attempts to structure his/her text according to what the JEFL believes is those expectations. On the surface then it appears that the JEFL writer has met those expectations, but to the NES something about the text remains unnatural. The above analysis suggests that this is due to the "artificial nucleus." The position of the unit creates the illusion of coherent structure, but, when carefully examined, oftentimes the function the unit is expected to perform is not achieved, as the nucleus does not align with the content of that unit.

A Good Japanese Text

Before discussing the theoretical and pedagogical implications of the findings of this study, I would like to take a moment to look at some of the characteristics observed in a Japanese text that was regarded as well written by native Japanese speakers (NJSs). As was discussed in Chapter 2, attempting to account for errors and differences in a L2 writer's text by pointing to his/her L1 is precarious territory, as the act of writing involves multifaceted factors with culture and language playing only a small part. Logistically, however, it was not possible to take into account every factor that may have played a role in influencing the outcome of the texts in the corpora used in this study. Admittedly, looking at only the written text limits the investigation to the text itself and consequently sociocultural factors, individual writer characteristics, etc., cannot be taken into consideration. Nevertheless, as this study is concerned with getting Japanese EFL writers to where they need to be by better understanding the conventions of English writing with which Japanese L2 writers struggle beyond the grammatical and idiomatic, it is worthwhile to explore a case in which the conventions of Japanese writing may differ from English writing. In doing so, plausible postulations for why a mismatch of common ground occurs between JEFLs and NESs that result in JEFL writing being seemingly less coherent may become evident.

Accordingly, what follows is a qualitative analysis of the quantitative data from a Japanese text that has been regarded as "well-written" by NJSs with the hope that the rhetorical structure of this particular text may shed a bit of light on the differences between rhetorical expectations in Japanese writing and English writing, at least to the point where certain elements clearly had a negative effect on coherence in English yet could occur in a Japanese text that is regarded as "well-written." Of course, a single text does not constitute strong empirical evidence. I approach the next section cautiously, not claiming any of the following observations to be generalizable or significant but as still suggestive of the reasons for some of the dissonance occurring between Japanese English writing and English rhetorical expectations, in view of the fact that a number of Japanese native speakers converged in their assessment of its quality. The relations that appeared in the Japanese text and their frequencies are listed in Table 4.2 in Appendix A.

Of the 23 relations that occurred in the Japanese text, the majority of them (N = 14) were SM relations, suggesting a preference for such relations by Japanese, or at least no aversion of them. This is of particular interest, of course, when considering the fact that the English texts written by the JEFLs exhibited a significantly reduced rate of SM relations. This observation thus adds to the objections against the notion

of L1 or cultural influence as the source of this reduced rate. Moreover, we have seen that for every 10 EDUs in the NES corpus, six different RST relations occur; in contrast, for every 10 EDUs in the JEFL corpus less than five RST relations occur. In this Japanese text, however, 14 different RST relations appeared between its 26 EDUs, which would be roughly five different relations per every 10 EDUs, so a ratio very close to the NES texts.

Lastly, looking at the text holistically, it is interesting to note that despite the fact that this text was regarded as "well-written" by NJSs, two separate instances of dangling units occurred. In the first instance, [Span 5-6] interrupts the flow of thought between [Span 2-4] and [Unit 7] as follows:

#[2大学に通うということは(When attending university),]#[3とてもお金がかかるということです(it costs much money).]#[4学費、教科書代、場合によっては寮や一人暮らしで、生活面でも通常よりお金がかかる人もいます(Tuition fees, book fees, and in the case of living in the dorm or alone it costs some people more than usual living).]#[5 実際私は、奨学金を取りながら大学に通っていますが(Actually, I am receiving a scholarship while attending university),]#[6寮に入っていることもあり、とても出費がかさみます(but I am also living in the dorm and the expenses add up).]#[7 そんな大学生活において、お金を稼ぐ機会であるアルバイトはとても貴重です(In such a university life, the chance to earn money with a part-time job is very important)].#

Example 4.29

As can be seen, the text would be much more coherent (in English) if it were not for the interruption of [Span 5-6](see underlined section above). In another instance, two units intrude on what otherwise appears to be a logical sequence of thought (see Example 4.30)

#[16親も、大学生になったら(I think many parents too, when you become a university student)]#[17自分でアルバイトをしてこのような諸費は賄うことを望む人が多いと思います(wish that you provide for yourself with a part-time job)]#

Example 4.30

The text prior to this span discussed the different expenses of college and the fact that scholarships cannot be used and allowance from one's parents is not enough to cover these expenses. The text that follows this span then claims that a part-time job can help cover these expenses. [Span 16–17], however, seems to unexpectedly appear in the progression of ideas in the text with no clear relation to the ideas in that progression. Despite the intrusions that impact the coherence of the text as shown in Example 4.29 and Example 4.30, NJSs still regarded this particular text as well written. This illustrates one of two possibilities: either the concept of what constitutes a coherent text differs in Japanese and English (as has been claimed by Hinds, 1983a, 1983b; Day, 1996; McClure, 2000; Yamada, 1997; Okabe, 1983; and many others), or coherence or lack thereof does not necessarily equate with "well written" in the Japanese context. That is, a text does not necessarily have to be coherent in order to be regarded as well written. Whether there is a difference between what Japanese and English speakers view as coherent or the value of coherence differs between these two languages, is unclear. Regardless, divergence appears to exist between the rhetorical expectations of Japanese and of English; whether or not this divergence is a convention or a random phenomenon, however, would require more data. Nonetheless, this finding does suggest that as far as Japanese is concerned it is possible for a text to be less coherent (at least from an NES's perspective), yet still be regarded as well written while such a scenario is much less likely in English, as was previously discussed.

Methodological, Theoretical, & Pedagogical Implications

One significant contribution this study has made is methodological—it has shown that while a simple comparison of relations and their frequency counts does little to reveal much about a text, the investigation of such relations does help to point to anomalies that could plausibly account for why a text may be considered more or less coherent and logical. In doing so, the quantitative analysis helps to shed light on particular structures and rhetorical differences while the qualitative observations excavate those anomalies and puts them in context. Therefore, this study has shown that Rhetorical Structure Theory may be useful for contrastive purposes, but only if the content and structure of tagged relations are analyzed beyond their frequency. This is particularly true with the occurrence of such phenomena as redundancy/unintentional repetition, dangling units/cross dependencies, and artificial nuclei, which would otherwise be overlooked should an analysis rely solely on the frequency of relations.

In addition, this study has demonstrated that the claims of language and culture transfer/interference in Japanese L2 writers' English writing of past studies cannot be substantiated. That being said, the results do seem to point to the conclusion that the rhetorical expectations of Japanese and English may differ, but any differences between these languages do not seem to have a negative impact on coherence, logic, or any of the other common complaints made of Japanese English writing. Rather, most of the mistakes and errors observed in this study that could explain why the JEFL learners' English writing may be regarded as incoherent and less logical than NESs' writing are more likely attributed to limited cognitive resources as a result of novice writing skills and/or L2 linguistic proficiency rather than L1 interference or cultural influence. While language ability may certainly play some role, errors in rhetorical and organizational patterns generally reflect more that of a novice or inexperienced writer but are often times masked in linguistic errors, which has caused past researchers to misdiagnose the anomalies identified in Japanese English writing. Numerous researchers have warned against such bias and overemphasis of cognitive factors that seem to be rather prevalent in contrastive rhetorical studies (e.g., Connor, 1996; Connor & Johns, 1990; Kubota, 1997; Kubota & Lehner, 2004; Matsuda, 2001; Pennycook, 1998; Spack, 1997).

This study, however, has shown how conceptualizing contrastive rhetoric within the framework of CG theory helps to prevent the researcher, his data, and analyses from becoming marooned in the unnavigable waters of social and cultural identities and influences and anchor the researcher and his study in the safer and more accessible waters of basic communication principles. As such, this study lends support to the voices that have called out contrastive rhetoric and the presumptuous findings of past studies due to unfounded and oftentimes biased beliefs about a language and culture. At the same time, however, it has also demonstrated that contrastive rhetoric can indeed produce impartial and less divisive conclusions without leaning on impracticable ideologies and intangible theories that have only resulted in impediments to the field. And while there are still shortcomings to contrastive research that limits its source of data solely to the text, a careful and impartial theoretical framework can reveal a great deal about the needs of a specific group of writers, especially when a study compares groups and data of adequate *tertium comparationis,* avoids overgeneralizations, and does not suggest that the product itself is more important than the writer. On the contrary, the purpose behind investigating the product is to assist the writer, and, thus, writers' communicative goals and needs are always central to contrastive rhetorical studies, whether or not they are directly part of that investigation.

Perhaps one of the more important contributions this study has made, however, is that it has shown that JEFL writers' struggle with negotiating the intended rhetorical structure with the content of that structure. A tendency to structure a text in the canonical order while being unable to support that structure content wise suggests that JEFL writers are aware of and familiar with the rhetorical expectations of English with regard to how they manifest themselves structurally, but unaware of how content lends to forming structure, i.e., deeper-level coherence. Though it remains unclear whether or not this is unique to JEFL writers, this issue was most common among the JEFL texts, suggesting that it is an area in which L2 writers may struggle. Accordingly, L2 writing instructors should be wary of overemphasizing structure. Rather, they need to demonstrate how to shape a text at the content level. For example, instead of belaboring topic sentence-supporting sentences-concluding sentence paragraph structure, teachers should emphasize how a topic sentence establishes the topic of a paragraph, how supporting sentences support and build upon that topic, and how a concluding sentence completes the paragraph and demonstrate how the elements all work together cohesively to form a coherent whole.

Finally, it should be noted that this study used only first drafts of writing examples from both JEFL learners and NESs. This was done for two reasons. First, it was assumed that in investigating rhetorical variations between two groups of different cultural backgrounds first drafts would reveal the authors' naturally occurring rhetorical preferences, which have not been altered by conscious revisions nor external feedback. The fact of the matter is, however, that writing is a cognitively demanding task that requires planning, drafting, and revising before a text can ultimately be judged as well written, no matter the linguistic/cultural background of the writer (Zinsser, 2006). As a result, many of the NESs' texts were not necessarily examples of good writing either. So while the raw writing of both of these groups offered comparable data, the end results of this study suggest that giving the two groups time to make conscious revisions and deliberate rhetorical decisions might reveal more about each groups' rhetorical preferences than first-draft writing does, since unintentional errors are often present in early drafts and do not necessarily reflect a writer's true understanding of how to structure a text. What this investigation suggests then is that contrastive rhetorical studies that compare the final drafts of writing may make the contrast between two groups more evident. This insight also leads to a pedagogical implication.

If unplanned, unrevised writing produces lower quality texts even among NES writers, it seems that using such assignments (e.g., in-class, timed writing) as assessment tools, or, perhaps more specifically, using such assignments solely to assess students' writing in a composition course would be unreasonable. Rather, teachers need to consider writing as a process and assess their students based on that process by helping and guiding them to make the necessary revisions so that their texts meet the rhetorical expectations of their readers. The principal form of assessment should thus be based on those decisions and not those made in earlier, subsequent drafts. Along this same line of argument, while L2 speakers may have certain linguistic needs that differ from NESs, automatically assuming that their L1 and/or culture is negatively affecting their writing may cause instructors to misidentify the areas in which students struggle and reduce their errors to a byproduct of their L1 and/or culture that cannot be easily remedied. If, however, instructors can remove the L2 label and see their students as emerging writers who make mistakes just as any novice writer does, the EFL/ESL writing classroom may be able to successfully move away from stereotyping and marginalizing students' native rhetoric. This may be especially helpful to L2 speakers who already have a handle on the English language but see themselves as poor writers due to the prevalent view that they are imprisoned by the constraints imposed upon themselves by their L1 and/or cultures. Reimagining the L2 writer in this way may give a greater freedom to these learners and help them to not overly concern themselves with how they are different from English speakers, thereby freeing up some much-needed cognitive resources.

Summary

This chapter has discussed the quantitative findings of Chapter 3 and provided qualitative analysis of those findings. Additionally, the findings of a "well-written" Japanese text were presented and discussed in light of the results from the Japanese English writing. After the findings of the JEFL and NES corpora were discussed, the methodological, theoretical, and pedagogical implications of this study were addressed. The following and final chapter will offer a brief summary of this dissertation and its main findings and conclusions. Following the summary, limitations of this study and suggestions for possible future research will be put forward.

Chapter 5 | Summary & Conclusion

Introduction

This chapter will begin by recapitulating the findings of this investigation. Some space will then be dedicated to considering the limitations of the study, which will be followed by a discussion of possible future research. This chapter will conclude with future perspectives of contrastive rhetoric and how this particular study will help to revitalize and promote studies in the field.

Summary of Findings

This study conducted a contrastive analysis of two corpora, one corpus of texts written by native-English speakers (N = 22) and one corpus of texts written by Japanese EFL learners (N = 22), in an effort to identify differences/anomalies in Japanese English writing that could plausibly account for why English texts written by Japanese often appear to be incoherent. Quantitative results of this study have unearthed some interesting findings, namely, the more prominent use of SM relations in the Japanese English texts.

The lower rate of SM relations among the texts in the JEFL corpus compared to those in the NES corpus ($p = 0.047$) appears to be a symptom of a cognitive struggle among the Japanese L2 writers. This assertion is furthered by other various phenomena observed in the data, such as a relatively frequent use of certain relations, weakening the coherence of the texts, and dangling units/cross dependencies. Qualitative observations made of the texts sheds further light on the issue, suggesting that the combination of the JEFLs' inexperience as writers and linguistic deficiencies is resulting in a cognitive overload that negatively impacts the overall coherence and quality of their texts.

Looking at the use of individual relations in the Japanese English texts in comparison to those used by native English speakers, it was discovered that not only the utilization of certain relations but also how they are utilized might negatively affect the coherence of a text. For example, with the antithesis statement, there were instances where the Japanese writer would employ this rhetorical relation to

the detriment of his/her own thesis. So, rather than creating a "positive regard" for the nucleus, the author seemed to unintentionally refute his/her own stance, as stated elsewhere in or inferable from the text, thus reducing coherence.

Another intriguing finding of this study was the discovery of the artificial nucleus, which is when a nucleus may appear to have a function in the structural design of the text but does not in fact hold its apparently intended function due to its content. Such an error creates the perception of a structured text because at the surface it is following the conventions and expectations of English writing. However, a native-English speaker reader may very likely experience such a text as incoherent, awkward, and/or illogical since the content cannot effectively maintain the structure it was assigned.

The findings of this study impact the field of contrastive rhetoric in methodological, theoretical, and pedagogical ways. First of all, it is apparent that relation frequencies alone cannot provide enough insight into writing. However, such quantitative data is effective at pinpointing anomalies that may otherwise be overlooked, which, in turn, can then be investigated more thoroughly through qualitative analysis. In doing so, this study demonstrates that RST can be used effectively for contrastive purposes to some extent but does require the researcher to also look at the context in which the structures are used. Though the quantitative data produced through an RST analysis in a contrastive study may lack the capacity to offer sufficient insights into differences between corpora when considered by itself, RST analysis can be an effective way to understand differences at both the micro and macro levels of texts when the data is not decontextualized but rather observed within its context.

Secondly, this study seems to suggest that claims that JEFL writers' L1 is influencing and even interfering with their English writing have been exaggerated, and frankly, misleading. It is clear that there is much more at work than cognitive factors, and thus, as numerous scholars have argued (e.g., Connor, 1996, 2005; Kubota, 1997; Kubota & Lehner, 2004; Spack, 1997), explaining differences across texts of different writers, especially writers of different cultures and L1s, in terms of a writer's large culture is an oversimplification of a much more complex issue that involves numerous other variables, which are likely to be of even greater influence. Accordingly, this study rooted itself in CG theory (Clark, 1985), thereby returning to the basic principles of human communication, and, in doing so, demonstrating that it is possible to conduct contrastive rhetorical studies without falling prey to stereotyping, ethnocentrism, or linguistic imperialism. Based on this theoretical position, it was found that most of the anomalies observed in the JEFL corpus could

be considered as resembling that of errors found in novice writers' texts, suggesting that JEFL learners need more instruction in writing in the broader, general sense, not because they are L2 writers, but for the simple fact that they are beginners. That is not to suggest, however, that linguistic factors were not at play. In fact, they most certainly contributed to limiting the cognitive resources of the JEFL writers, as well as to issues of redundancy and unintentional repetition, most likely compounding the struggles the learners faced as inexperienced writers.

Nevertheless, it is also clear that JEFL writers in particular struggled negotiating the intended rhetorical structure of a text with the content of that structure. Though they generally had a clear sense of what an English text should look like on the surface, they were unable to establish that structure with regard to the content. Accordingly, teachers should take the time to show their students exactly how a coherent text is formed beyond the macro-level. Breaking the text into smaller units and explaining how each of those units are connected would certainly be a step in the right direction in helping students understand how a text is constructed at the micro-level to form not only a cohesive piece of writing, but a coherent one as well. In fact, RST may even be a useful pedagogical tool in the classroom for this purpose.

Study Limitations

Although every possible effort was made to avoid flaws in the research design of this study, it cannot be claimed this study is entirely without its own set of limitations.

Sample Size

Though the size of each corpus (N = 22) was adequate enough for a statistical analysis of the data, the sample size was still relatively small. This could account for why few significant differences were identified between the two groups. Additionally, the most telling phenomenon of incoherence in RST, that is, dangling units/cross dependencies, occurred too infrequently in the corpora used in this study. Though it was clear the phenomenon was a much more common occurrence in the JEFL corpus and the statistical analysis conducted indicated a significant difference between the two corpora, the test itself could not be considered entirely reliable due to the small number of occurrences compared. A larger sample size in future studies may reveal greater statistical difference and may make it possible to reliably run a statistical analysis on the frequency rates of such phenomenon as dangling units/cross dependencies. At the same time, however, a very large sample size may inaccurately point to a phenomenon as significant when in fact the significance was artificially inflated due to a very large sample size (Chatfield, 1995). Accordingly, future studies may consider increasing the sample size in order to produce results

that would be more generalizable to a larger population but should be careful to not make the sizes overly large, thereby artificially raising the chances of finding statistical difference.

Another problem with the small sample size is that the findings of this study may be rather difficult to generalize across all NESs' and JEFLs' writing. However, the generalizability of the results of this study is strengthened by the fact that the sampling was taken from a diverse group of participants of various universities around Japan (for JEFL texts) and the United States (for NES texts), which helped to cover a wide range across the populations.

Quality of NES Texts

A serious shortcoming of this study is that it was assumed texts written by NESs are generally coherent and logical. While this, for the most part appeared to be true compared to the texts written by L2 writers, the NES texts certainly did not always represent the best examples of good writing. In fact, two of the raters commented that several of the NES texts were not very well written, in their opinion, but they were better than the other choices, and so these raters judged them higher in comparison. Thus, these texts benefited from the fact that the yardstick by which they were measured was at times shorter than a yard. As mentioned previously, the poorer quality of these texts was probably due to a lack of revisions. Furthermore, it is possible that the participants' performance was impacted as a result of the lack of incentive, which will be discussed in more detail momentarily.

Quality of JEFL Texts

Something else lacking in this study is an independent assessment of JEFL texts by a panel of raters as was done with the NES texts. While this was not an essential step for the purposes of this particular study, which simply sought to find a possible source of the phenomenon that the English writing of Japanese is often seen as incoherent relative to that of NESs' writing, it would have done much to extend on past studies that had assessed L2 texts' structure/organization but did not look closely at the structures (see Hirose, 2003, for example). Furthermore, like with the NES texts, it was simply assumed that English writing of JEFLs is of lower quality. An impartial evaluation, however, would be an effective way to provide further validation of the results: I predict that the better structured texts in the JEFL corpus will be regarded of higher quality than the poorly structured ones. Also, considering text quality of JEFL writing not only in comparison to NES texts but to one another would perhaps provide further insight into whether or not RST is indeed effective at discerning the quality of a text based on its rhetorical structure. Such information would

be useful to instructors as well since they will be able to have a clearer picture of what a higher evaluated English text written by a Japanese looks like—a much more realistic and attainable goal for lower-level/poorer performing JEFL writers than native-like texts.

Lack of Motivation

As mentioned above, the context in which the writing task was completed by the JEFL and NES writers may have influenced the quality of the texts used in each corpus. ICNALE collects texts on a voluntary basis, which means there are no actual consequences of poor performance. Therefore, there may have been a lack of genuine motivation for the participants to demonstrate their best writing skills. Since there was essentially no incentive for the participants to do their best, it is unclear if the texts can accurately depict the highest-level of writing abilities of each group. Accordingly, for more representative writing samples, future studies should consider how to motivate the participants with incentives, such as using classroom-writing assignments that the participants know will be graded.

Writer Characteristics

While many past studies comparing Japanese and English writing have made claims of rhetorical transfer, the findings of this study suggest that errors and issues of coherence and logic may (at least) equally be due to a lack of training in writing. This claim is based on past literature and not on the background of the participants of this study as such. The characteristics of the individual writers involved in this study are unknown beyond the demographic information ICNALE provided. While the results point to errors that could be traced back to inexperience in writing, this assertion is, at this point, a hypothesis, still to be tested, rather than a claim based on empirical evidence. Knowing more about the participants of this study would have helped make claims about the writers more valid. Furthermore, the results of this study would be more applicable to a larger and more diverse group if more were known about each individual writer. Thus, future studies should consider conducting interviews with participants in order to better understand each writer's unique characteristics and take into account these characteristics when discussing the findings.

Researcher & Rater Bias

A common criticism of discourse analysis is the role that the human element plays, which can result in biased, fallible data. As this study was based on the assumption that JEFL writers' English texts are less coherent, more illogical, and overall not as well written as texts written by NESs, there may have been some bias in the

annotation of those texts written by Japanese. Though inter-rater reliability was established, it was easy for the co-rater and author to distinguish between the texts written by Japanese and those written by NESs due to their experience with Japanese English writing, which may have contributed to a higher inter-rater reliability. Nevertheless, as both are experienced educators and researchers, conscious efforts were made to be objective and neutralize bias during analysis. Furthermore, it was possible to minimize bias when analyzing the NES texts as they were double rated. First, 100 texts were rated by three NES judges and the top 22 were chosen as examples of well-written texts, which were then analyzed within the RST framework. After the analysis, these 22 texts were once again rated by the same three judges as well-written and less well-written in order to demonstrate that the RST analyses were not based on the judgments of the raters but rather on the actual structure of the texts.

Suggestions for Further Research

Since this study only focused on the written product, very little could be confidently claimed about the intentions of the writers beyond what was more or less explicitly stated in the texts. However, because RST relations are based on what the annotator considers to be the most plausible intention of the writer, future studies such as this one may benefit from follow-up interviews with the writers of the texts to confirm and validate the relation tags. This could also shed some light on issues on which a researcher could only speculate, such as the reasoning and logic behind an argument. Furthermore, follow-up interviews would allow for future studies to take into consideration a greater number of factors that may contribute to the rhetorical structure of a text and help to further move contrastive rhetoric away from relying solely on explaining errors in L2 writing based on a negative cultural transfer framework.

The quantitative results in the domain of the SM relations pointed to plausible cognitive issues JEFL writers may be having when writing in English. However, a relatively lower degree of SM relations turned out not to lead to lower text quality in general, so it remains unclear how exactly they affect the quality of a text, or if this combination of low frequency of SM relations and low quality was specific to the JEFL corpus of this study. It would therefore be worthwhile for future endeavors to focus on text quality and further explore the relationship between it and SM relations. Additionally, it was hypothesized that "explicit linkage" was an unintentional result of the JEFL writers' focus on micro-level structure due to the limitations on their cognitive resources; however, before applying this idea in teaching practices, it would be necessary for future studies to investigate the

use of logical connectors by L2 writers, novice writers, and experienced writers within an analytical framework such as RST in order to examine the validity of this hypothesis.

One of this study's most revealing findings was that of how the JEFL writers had a tendency to form rhetorical structures that the content of the text could not effectively hold, i.e., the appearance of the artificial nucleus. It would therefore be worthwhile to investigate this further. For example, future research could specifically seek this phenomenon out in texts written by both NESs and L2 writers; comparisons between texts judged more positively versus those judged negatively could be made to discover whether this phenomenon is indeed more prevalent in texts that are judged poorly. It would also be worth exploring whether this phenomenon occurs among texts written by L2 writers of various cultural backgrounds as well as novice NES writers or if it is more common in specific kinds of cultural groups, such as Japanese.

Finally, it might be worthwhile to consider adding and/or revising the RST relations when analyzing Japanese texts. Nagano (1986) identified seven different relations in Japanese (see Table 5.1 in Appendix A). Future studies may want to adopt relations that have been identified in Japanese discourse and analyze Japanese English writing based on these relations. It would also be interesting to apply these same rhetorical relations to NESs' English texts and, if possible, Japanese texts written by NESs. Such a study would help to further understand the differences in writing between these two languages and whether or not, in fact, L2 writers make errors that are unique to L2 writers.

The findings of this study are limited to a rather small cultural group, namely, Japanese college students. Future research needs to take into account a variety of languages and cultures and investigate them across genres and rhetorical contexts so that more generalizable conclusions can be made. Furthermore, future studies should also consider adapting RST according to the language to be analyzed. Though theoretically RST should be applicable across languages, it would be interesting to see if results differ depending on the types of relations used and the language of text, that is, when rhetorical relations identified in Japanese discourse are applied to English texts and vice versa.

Conclusion

This study has been careful to shape a theoretical framework to bring contrastive rhetoric back to its roots, avoiding subjectivity as much as possible while maintaining the goal of diagnosing the nature of low quality in foreign language writing. Though some speculations were unavoidable, the focus has been from the beginning to identify errors and anomalies that could plausibly account for why Japanese English writing is often regarded by NESs as incoherent and illogical. An important result is that there is no basis for the general, wide-sweeping claim that these errors are caused or a result of the JEFL writers' L1, i.e., Japanese. Rather, the experience of incoherence in JEFL texts is arguably related to a relatively high number of unclear or even absent coherence links between segments of texts, an overuse of weak coherence relations like Joint, and a mismatch between the marking of a coherence relation and the actual content of a segment—the sum total of which results in a 'violation' of basic communication principles that may be diagnosed as comparable, if not identical, to those produced by inexperienced writers.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
TABLES

Table 2.1
Maynard's (1998) six logical threads of Japanese discourse

Japanese Discourse Structure	Logical Thread 1	Logical Thread 2	Logical Thread 3	Logical Thread 4	Logical Thread 5	Logical Thread 6
序論 joron	problem ↓	proposed opinion ↓	concrete examples ↓ problem statement ↓	definition/ explanation ↓ concrete examples ↓	problem statement ↓ reference/ data leading to evidence ↓	concrete examples ↓ problem statement ↓
本論 honron	reference/ data leading to evidence ↓	evidence based on reference/ data ↓	supplementary evidence based on reference/ data ↓	further consideration ↓	hypothesis ↓ supplementary reference/ data leading to evidence ↓	hypothesis ↓ supplementary reference/ data leading to evidence ↓
結論 ketsuron	conclusion	confirmation of proposed opinion	conclusion	opinion/claim	conclusion	conclusion

Table 3.1
List of RST Relations divided by the asymmetric and symmetric relations categories

Subject Matter Relations		Presentational Relations	Multinuclear Relations
Circumstance	Cause Cluster	Antithesis	Conjunction
Condition	NV Cause	Background	Contrast
Elaboration	NV Result	Concession	Disjunction
Evaluation	V Cause	Enablement	Joint
Interpretation	V Result	Evidence	List
Means		Justify	MN RS
Otherwise Purpose		Motivation	Sequence
Restatement		Preparation	
Solutionhood			
Summary			
Unconditional			
Unless			

*Note. NV = non-volitional; V = volitional; MN RS = multinuclear restatement

Table 3.2
Definitions of RST Relations

Definitions for Presentational Relations				
Category	**Relations**	**Constraints on N or S**	**Constraints on N or S**	**Intention of W**
Presentational	Antithesis	on N: W has positive regard for N	N and S are in contrast (see the Contrast relation); because of the incompatibility that arises from the contrast, one cannot have positive regard for both of those situations; comprehending S and the incompatibility between the situations increases R's positive regard for N	R's positive regard for N is increased
	Background	on N: R won't comprehend N sufficiently before reading text of S	S increases the ability of R to comprehend an element in N	R's ability to comprehend N increases
	Concession	on N: W has positive regard for N on S: W is not claiming that S does not hold;	W acknowledges a potential or apparent incompatibility between N and S; recognizing the compatibility between N and S increases R's positive regard for N	R's positive regard for N is increased
	Enablement	on N: presents an action by R (including accepting an offer), unrealized with respect to the context of N	R comprehending S increases R's potential ability to perform the action in N	R's potential ability to perform the action in N increases
	Evidence	on N: R might not believe N to a degree satisfactory to W on S: R believes S or will find it credible	R's comprehending S increases R's belief of N	R's belief of N is increased
	Justify	none	R's comprehending S increases R's readiness to accept W's right to present N	R's readiness to accept W's right to present N is increased
	Motivation	on N: N is an action in which R is the actor (including accepting an offer), unrealized with respect to the context of N	Comprehending S increases R's desire to perform action in N	R's desire to perform action in N is increased
	Preparation	none	S precedes N in the text; S tends to make R more ready, interested or oriented for reading N	R is more ready, interested or oriented for reading N
	RS	none	on N + S: S restates N, where S and N are of comparable bulk; N is more central to W's purposes than S is.	R recognizes S as a restatement of N
	Summary	on N: N must be more than one unit	S presents a restatement of the content of N, that is shorter in bulk	R recognizes S as a shorter restatement of N

Table 3.2 (continued)

Definitions of Subject Matter Relations				
Category	**Relations**	**Constraints on N or S**	**Constraints on N & S**	**Intention of W**
Subject Matter	Circumstance	on S: S is not unrealized	N and S are in contrast (see the Contrast relation); because of the incompatibility that arises from the contrast, one cannot have positive regard for both of those situations; comprehending S and the incompatibility between the situations increases R's positive regard for N.	R recognizes that S provides the framework for interpreting N.
	Condition	on S: S presents a hypothetical, future, or otherwise unrealized situation (relative to the situational context of S)	Realization of N depends on realization of S.	R recognizes how the realization of N depends on the realization of S.
	Elaboration	none	S presents additional detail about the situation or some element of subject matter which is presented in N or inferentially accessible in N in one or more of the ways listed below. In the list, if N presents the first member of any pair, then S includes the second: set :: member abstraction :: instance whole :: part process :: step object :: attribute generalization :: specific	R recognizes S as providing additional detail for N. R identifies the element of subject matter for which detail is provided.
	Evaluation	none	on N + S: S relates N to degree of W's positive regard toward N.	R recognizes that S assesses N and recognizes the value it assigns.
	Interpretation	none	on N + S: S relates N to a framework of ideas not involved in N itself and not concerned with W's positive regard.	R recognizes that S relates N to a framework of ideas not involved in the knowledge presented in N itself.

Table 3.2 (continued)

	Means	on N: an activity	S presents a method or instrument which tends to make realization of N more likely.	R recognizes that the method or instrument in S tends to make realization of N more likely.
	NV Cause	on N: N is not a V action	S, by means other than motivating a V action, caused N; without the presentation of S, R might not know the particular cause of the situation; a presentation of N is more central than S to W's purposes in putting forth the N-S combination.	R recognizes S as a cause of N.
	NV Result	on S: S is not a V action	N caused S; presentation of N is more central to W's purposes in putting forth the N-S combination than is the presentation of S.	R recognizes that N could have caused the situation in S.
	Otherwise	on N: N is an unrealized situation on S: S is an unrealized situation	realization of N prevents realization of S.	R recognizes the dependency relation of prevention between the realization of N and the realization of S.
	Purpose	on N: N is an activity on S: S is a situation that is unrealized	S is to be realized through the activity in N.	R recognizes that the activity in N is initiated in order to realize S.
	Solutionhood	on S: S presents a problem	N is a solution to the problem presented in S.	R recognizes N as a solution to the problem presented in S.
	Unconditional	on S: S conceivably could affect the realization of N	N does not depend on S.	R recognizes that N does not depend on S.
	Unless	none	S affects the realization of N; N is realized provided that S is not realized.	R recognizes that N is realized provided that S is not realized.
	V Cause	On N: N is a V action or else a situation that could have arisen from a V action	S could have caused the agent of the V action in N to perform that action; without the presentation of S, R might not regard the action as motivated or know the particular motivation; N is more central to W's purposes in putting forth the N-S combination than S is.	R recognizes S as a cause for the volitional action in N.
	V Result	On S: S is a V action or a situation that could have arisen from a V action	N could have caused S; presentation of N is more central to W's purposes than is presentation of S.	R recognizes that N could be a cause for the action or situation in S.

Table 3.2 (continued)

Definitions of Multinuclear Relations			
Category	**Relations**	**Constraints on each pair of N**	**Intention of W**
MN	Conjunction	The items are conjoined to form a unit in which each item plays a comparable role.	R recognizes that the linked items are conjoined.
	Contrast	No more than two nuclei; the situations in these two nuclei are (a) comprehended as the same in many respects (b) comprehended as differing in a few respects and (c) compared with respect to one or more of these differences.	R recognizes the comparability and the difference(s) yielded by the comparison is being made.
	Disjunction	An item presents a (not necessarily exclusive) alternative for the other(s).	R recognizes that the linked items are alternatives.
	Joint	none	none
	List	An item comparable to others linked to it by the List relation.	R recognizes the comparability of linked items.
	MN RS	An item is primarily a reexpression of one linked to it; the items are of comparable importance to the purposes of W.	R recognizes the reexpression by the linked items.
	Sequence	There is a succession relationship between the situations in the nuclei.	R recognizes the succession relationships among the nuclei.

*Note. N = nucleus; S = satellite; W = writer; R = reader; RS = restatement; NV = non-volitional; V = volitional; MN = multinuclear

Table 3.3
Raw relation frequencies

		Raw Frequency	
Category	**Relations**	**NES**	**JEFL**
Presentational	Antithesis	3	7
	Background	3	1
	Concession	19	27
	Enablement	0	0
	Evidence	50	71
	Justify	20	62
	Motivation	1	0
	Preparation	4	7
	Restatement	4	6
	Summary	9	14
Subject Matter	Circumstance	28	52
	Condition	27	29
	Elaboration	38	58
	Evaluation	22	33
	Interpretation	4	2
	Means	6	6
	NV Cause	5	17
	NV Result	10	17
	Otherwise	1	0
	Purpose	5	7
	Solutionhood	2	5
	Unconditional	2	0
	Unless	1	1
	V Cause	1	0
	V Result	1	0
Multinuclear	Conjunction	11	22
	Contrast	5	12
	Disjunction	3	0
	Joint	3	20
	List	18	27
	MN RS	1	2
	Sequence	0	1
Unknown	???	0	6

*Note. NV = non-volitional; V = volitional; MN RS = multinuclear restatement

Table 3.4

Relation frequencies normalized by number of words (PNW) and number of segments (PNS)

		Frequency Normalized (PNW)		Frequency Normalized (PNS)	
Category	**Relations**	**NES**	**JEFL**	**NES**	**JEFL**
Presentational	Antithesis	0.66	1.21	4.46	5.97
	Background	0.66	0.17	4.46	0.85
	Concession	4.18	4.69	28.23	23.02
	Enablement	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Evidence	11.00	12.32	74.29	60.53
	Justify	4.40	10.76	29.72	52.86
	Motivation	0.22	0.00	1.49	0.00
	Preparation	0.88	1.21	5.94	5.97
	Restatement	0.88	1.04	5.94	5.12
	Summary	1.98	2.43	13.37	11.94
Subject Matter	Circumstance	6.16	9.02	41.60	44.33
	Condition	5.94	5.03	40.12	24.72
	Elaboration	8.36	10.06	56.46	49.45
	Evaluation	4.84	5.73	32.69	28.13
	Interpretation	0.88	0.35	5.94	1.71
	Means	1.32	1.04	8.92	5.12
	NV Cause	1.10	2.95	7.43	14.49
	NV Result	2.2	2.95	14.86	14.49
	Otherwise	0.22	0.00	1.49	0.00
	Purpose	1.10	1.21	7.43	5.97
	Solutionhood	0.44	0.87	2.97	4.26
	Unconditional	0.44	0.00	2.97	0.00
	Unless	0.22	0.17	1.49	0.85
	V Cause	0.22	0.00	1.49	0.00
	V Result	0.22	0.00	1.49	0.00
Multinuclear	Conjunction	2.42	3.82	16.34	18.76
	Contrast	1.10	2.08	7.43	10.23
	Disjunction	0.66	0.00	4.46	0.00
	Joint	0.66	3.47	4.46	17.05
	List	3.96	4.69	26.75	23.02
	MN RS	0.22	0.35	1.49	1.71
	Sequence	0.00	0.17	0.00	0.85
Unknown	???	0.00	1.04	0.00	5.12

*Note. PNW for NES = $\left(\frac{raw\ frequency}{4544}\right)$; PNW for JEFL = $\left(\frac{raw\ frequency}{5763}\right)$; PNS for NES = $\left(\frac{raw\ frequency}{673}\right)$; PNS for JEFL = $\left(\frac{raw\ frequency}{1173}\right)$.

Table 3.5
Difference between frequencies of relations between NES and JEFL corpora

		Difference Coefficient		
Categories	**Relations**	**Raw**	**PNW**	**PNS**
Presentational	Antithesis	-0.40	-0.30	-0.14
	Background	0.50	0.60	0.68
	Concession	-0.17	-0.06	0.10
	Enablement	NA	NA	NA
	Evidence	-0.17	-0.06	0.10
	Justify	-0.51	-0.42	-0.28
	Motivation	1.00	1.00	1.00
	Preparation	-0.27	-0.16	0.00
	Restatement	-0.20	-0.08	0.07
	Summary	-0.22	-0.10	0.06
Subject Matter	Circumstance	-0.30	-0.19	-0.03
	Condition	-0.04	0.08	0.24
	Elaboration	-0.21	-0.09	0.07
	Evaluation	-0.20	-0.08	0.07
	Interpretation	0.33	0.43	0.55
	Means	0.00	0.12	0.27
	NV Cause	-0.55	-0.46	-0.32
	NV Result	-0.26	-0.15	0.01
	Otherwise	1.00	1.00	1.00
	Purpose	-0.17	-0.05	0.11
	Solutionhood	-0.43	-0.33	-0.18
	Unconditional	1.00	1.00	1.00
	Unless	0.00	0.19	0.27
	V Cause	1.00	1.00	1.00
	V Result	1.00	1.00	1.00
Multinuclear	Conjunction	-0.33	-0.22	-0.07
	Contrast	-0.41	-0.31	-0.16
	Disjunction	1.00	1.00	1.00
	Joint	-0.74	-0.68	-0.59
	List	-0.20	-0.08	0.07
	MN RS	-0.33	-0.22	-0.06
	Sequence	-1.00	-1.00	-1.00
Unknown	???	-1.00	-1.00	-1.00

*Note. NV = non-volitional; V = volitional; MN RS = multinuclear restatement

Table 3.6

Analysis results for raw relation frequencies

	NES		JEFL		Wilcoxon Signed-rank Test		
	Mean (SD)	Median	Mean (SD)	Median	z	r	p
All 32 relations (N = 32)	9.59 (12.17)	4.00	15.81 (20.00)	7.00	3.489	0.436	0.000*
Presentational (N = 10)	11.30 (15.33)	4.00	19.50 (26.13)	7.00	2.253	0.504	0.024*
Subject Matter (N = 15)	10.20 (12.23)	5.00	15.13 (19.38)	6.00	2.000	0.365	0.045*
Multinuclear (N = 7)	5.86 (6.44)	3.00	12.00 (11.21)	12.00	1.863	0.498	0.063

*Note. SD = standard deviation; z = standardized test statistic for the Wilcoxon signed rank test; r = effect size; p = p-value of the Wilcoxon signed-rank test. *Indicates significance at the 0.05 level. , $\frac{|z|}{\sqrt{n_{NES}+n_{JEFL}}}$, n_{NES} is number of observation of NES and n_{JEFL} is number of observation of JEFL.

Table 3.7

Analysis results for normalized relation frequencies (PNW)

	NES		JEFL		Wilcoxon Signed-rank Test		
	Mean (SD)	Median	Mean (SD)	Median	z	r	p
All 32 relations (N = 32)	2.11 (2.68)	0.88	2.74 (3.47)	1.21	2.352	0.294	0.019*
Presentational (N = 10)	2.49 (3.37)	0.88	3.38 (4.53)	1.21	1.836	0.411	0.066
Subject Matter (N = 15)	2.24 (2.69)	1.10	2.63 (3.36)	1.04	0.682	0.125	0.495
Multinuclear (N = 7)	1.29 (1.42)	0.66	2.08 (1.95)	2.08	1.859	0.497	0.063

*Note. SD = standard deviation; z = standardized test statistic for the Wilcoxon signed rank test; r = effect size; p = p-value of the Wilcoxon signed-rank test. *Indicates significance at the 0.05 level. $\frac{|z|}{\sqrt{n_{NES}+n_{JEFL}}}$, n_{NES} is number of observation of NES and n_{JEFL} is number of observation of JEFL.

Table 3.8

Analysis results for normalized relation frequencies (PNS)

	NES		JEFL		Wilcoxon Signed-rank Test		
	Mean (SD)	Median	Mean (SD)	Median	z	r	p
All 32 relations (N = 32)	14.26 (18.08)	5.94	13.48 (17.05)	5.97	-1.647	0.206	0.100
Presentational (N = 10)	16.79 (22.78)	5.94	16.62 (22.27)	5.97	-0.889	0.199	0.374
Subject Matter (N = 15)	15.16 (18.17)	7.43	12.90 (16.52)	5.12	-1.989	0.363	0.047*
Multinuclear (N = 7)	8.70 (9.57)	4.46	10.23 (9.56)	10.23	0.507	0.136	0.612

*Note. SD = standard deviation; z = standardized test statistic for the Wilcoxon signed rank test; r = effect size; p = p-value of the Wilcoxon signed-rank test. *Indicates significance at the 0.05 level. $\frac{|z|}{\sqrt{n_{NES}+n_{JEFL}}}$, n_{NES} is number of observation of NES and n_{JEFL} is number of observation of JEFL.

Table 4.1

Overrepresented relations in the JEFL corpus and their effects on the texts

Overrepresented Relations	**Potential Negative Effects**
Antithesis	May diminish the author's stance when the segments being related do not fit and support the relation.
Justify	May affect the logical flow of a text when its function is used incorrectly and placement does not match canonical order.
Solutionhood	May cause issues in coherence if the problem and solution do not appear to relate to the text as a whole.
Contrast	May dictate the structure of a text explicitly, i.e., compare/contrast, in cases such a structure may not be preferred.
Joint	May indicate issues in coherence and/or cohesion, especially when its span is large and/or occurs abruptly in the middle of a text.

Table 4.2

Raw relation frequencies of Japanese text

Category	Relations	Frequency
Presentational	Concession	1
	Evidence	2
	Justify	1
	RS	1
	Summary	1
Subject Matter	Circumstance	5
	Elaboration	3
	Evaluation	1
	Interpretation	2
	NV Cause	2
	Solutionhood	1
MN	Conjunction	1
	List	1
	MN RS	1
TOTAL	23	

*Note. NV = non-volitional; MN RS = multinuclear restatement

Table 5.1
Nagano's (1986) list of relations found in Japanese discourse

Relation Name	Definition
Expansion	The following clause is a more detailed description of the preceding one.
Opposition	One clause opposes the other.
Addition	A second clause, related to the first in some way, is added.
Apposition	The second clause restates the first.
Supplement	The second clause explains the first.
Contrast	The second clause contrasts with the first.
Diversion	The second clause diverts from the first.

APPENDIX B

JEFL CORPUS

JEFL 1

As one of college students, I agree to the statement, It is important for college students to have a part-time job. I have 3 reasons to support this opinion. Firstly, for students to learn how to manage money. College students don't have much money, but have lots of time. So they tend to use it too much. They're not good at control it. If they work, they'll recognize the importance and value of money. And they're going to get responsibility against money. So they will never waste it. In the near future we college students have our own family. We have to manage money all on our own. We should independent and how to control as soon as possible. Secondly, for students to know the society. Now, in university, lots of students are so lazy. Some are always late for school, some often sleep during the class and so on. Thanks to having a part-time job, they can know the responsibility against their task. There're many differences between college and society. In the society, rules are much stricter than college. If they don't know the society at all, they may not be able to be hired because of bad manner. So for students, a part-time job is one of good opportunities to practice for the future. Lastly, for companies to save money. Now in Japan, the economic situation is not good. And the companies hire less people than usual. So they're in trouble because of lack of staff. If companies hire general people, they have to pay much money. But for students, the pay is only about 800 yen per hour. Companies must want to hire students more than general people. In conclusion, I think college students should get a part-time job both for students and for companies.

JEFL 2

I agree with this statement, and I think that college students should have a part-time job. I have three reasons for this. First, they can learn a lot trough having a part-time job, and it will be useful in their future. For example, I worked at a Hotel as a service stuff in banquet. Through this job I could notice that it is not easy to earn money, and I felt appreciate to my parents, because they have worked for me since I was born. If I hadn't have a part-time job, I would never get such a feeling. This is one lesson from my working experience, but I believe every college student can learn something important through doing a job. So in my opinion, college students should have a part-time job. Second, having a part-time job gives them a lot of information about the occupation. Then if they have a several kinds of jobs in their university days, they can know what kind of jobs they really want to do in the future. I mean that having a part-time job brings happy lives for college students. Third, I think students have to have a part-time job, and earn money by

their selves, because college students need a lot of money for trip, study, or play with their friends. However, they should not make their parents pay all of them. They should try to independent from their parents. So, they have to work in order to earn the money that they need. In conclusion, from these three reasons, I believe that having a part-time job is important for college students.

JEFL 3

I agree that it is important for college students to have a part-time job. I have three reasons to support my stance. Firstly, a part-time job is an important chance to experience the society. Because a college is the place to prepare before going to the real society, part-time job is very necessary to know how severe working is or how we can enjoy it. In my experience, I learned that even one mistake cannot be allowed in a serves through working in bakery. I also noticed the importance of the relationship with my seniors. Second reason is a monetary problem. I think college students need a lot of money for texts or for some entertainments. However we are already adults and should not totally depend on our parents in finance. Therefore it is quite better to earn by ourselves as much as possible. As for me, I can live without working if I ask my parents to support me but I chose to work. That's because I have to learn to manage myself before graduating university. After I started to work, I actually became to think the importance of money when I buy something. Lastly, I think a part-time job is a good opportunity to get new friends. In a college, it is difficult to find so many kinds of friends because ages and departments are limited. However, if we work, we can meet any kinds of people regardless of ages or spatiality. I think such relationship is precious even after getting older. From all those reasons, I strongly believe that having a part-time job is important for college students.

JEFL 4

I do not agree with the idea that it is important for college students to have a part-time job. Of course there are both good aspects and bad aspects in having a part-time job. I'm going to write why I don't agree with the idea by showing both good aspects and bad aspects of having a part-time job. Let me explain. They say young people can acquire far more things than older people in the same time. If we have a part-time job, we can get some money, and getting money from one's work is surely a happy thing. However, we can't actually have what we could have acquired if we had done something other than working. This is a bad aspect of having a part-time job. On the contrary, having a part-time job itself can teach something important to us. For example, through a part-time job, we can realize the value of money, or realize our parents' effort to raise us, know how we can give better

service to the customers, or encounter many people and enhance our knowledge. Those are the good aspects of having a part-time job, and we cannot do those things by just reading our textbook or something like that. In my opinion, college students should regard their study more important than anything else. If we want to experience the good aspects of having a part-time job, I think it is a good idea to have a short term part-time job. However, I think having a part-time job regularly can sometimes affects the quality of college students' learning. Therefore, I think it is better for them to study as much as possible than to spend their precious time of youth working, unless they are in financially difficult state.

JEFL 5

I agree with this opinion. Because I think it is important for university students to learn social system and social manner and so on. Having a part – time job teaches them importance of moneys and working. But in college, students can't learn such things. For example, my part – time job is a home tutor and teacher in tutoring school. I teach children Mathematics and English and so on. And I mix with them, taking with them. The part – time job is very fun and, and I think that I can't experience such things in university. Of course, it is the most important for them to study. But college student will start working in society after they graduated from university. So they should have an experience in advance. Furthermore, most of them have a lot of free time. For example, I heard that some students don't have classes in Friday. So I think they had better have a part – time job in that time. I enjoy my part – time job. And I experience a lot of important things that I can't be taught in university's classes. So I think it is very important for university student to have a part – time job.

JEFL 6

I agree that it is important for college students to have a part-time job for four reasons. First, you can experience everything we need for the future through working. It is sometimes too hard for you to continue. But knowledge and experiences you get through working will be helpful when you go into the society. Second, you can get money. It is essential for your life. Nobody can do without it. When you get it after hard working, you will know the importance of money through getting it by yourself. Perhaps you may come to stop wasting money. Third, you can be conscious of being no longer a child. And you can feel how graceful your parents are. If you have never thought your parent troubles, it will be a chance to think of them. Finally, you can come to know many people. Some of them much elder and others are younger than you. You can work with them and make friends with them. The friends may advise you how to live and what to do when you are in

trouble. Anyway, you can broaden your sight and learn to think deeply more than when you have only friends usually around yourself. Of course you must study as a college student. And even if you are still a college student, you must work seriously as long as you decide to do the job. But mistakes will strengthen you by getting through it many times. You can practice working before you go into the society. So I think it important to do a part-time job.

JEFL 7

What your dream? Being lawyers or scientists? You can do anything if you keep trying. However, we should learn to be sociable before working in the real world. I think a part-time job could be good guidance to working in the world so I think it's important for college students. Today, I'd like to speak about my opinion of part-time jobs. This speech consists of 3 parts. First part is definition, second is merits and demerits of part-time jobs and last is conclusion. First; definition, having part-time jobs means that college students work and get some money. Second, merits of part-time jobs is not only getting money. But also improving our social skills. A demerit is losing our time to study. Last, I concluded that part-time jobs are worthwhile to do for college students. If we have part-time jobs, we can study enough because we can relatively decide working time or working styles as we like.

JEFL 8

I agree the opinion, because almost students will get a job after graduating college. When they enter a company, they experience many things that they will not have done. There is big difference between company and college. That time, if they experience part time job, they will get accustom to the company earlier than not experience. Through having a part time job, students can get much know-how in the case of business which the students can not study at their college. And we can get the chances that we make friends with people who do not have common points in their$ daily life. For many students who do not have a job, their social is college. They can make friends only through class or circle. But through part time job, we can make friends except college students and professor easily. Of course, the most important thing for college students is studying. It is nonsense to being crazy for the part time job too much and lazing studying. It is necessary to get balance between studying and working. But college time is important for young people. It is mottainai that students spend their time only to studying. I think young people should experience many things positively. Getting a part time job is one of the choices students can choose. Of course students can select another choice, for example circle-activity, volunteer, getting license etc Those are important and

meaningful, but we can not get money through those things. A part time job is a valuable choice killing three birds with one stone for us that we can get money, experiment, and friends.

JEFL 9

A part time job is loved by many people, especially by university student. Passing an entrance exam, I looked for a part-time job. Since then I have done double work, and sometimes even depend on the job which need us to work one day alone. Now I 'm looking for another job which is higher wage. The main purpose of having part-time job is usually to earn a lot of money to use freely, buying cloth, eating lunch etc. But many students engage in a club activity. And many students need to spend a lot of money there I belongs to dance club in Kobe univ. In the club, we obliged to take part in competition, and we have to spend too much money. for example, fare, entry fee, and the money to drink with all the member every time. the money, therefore, vanish from hand to hand at the moment. When I was child, my mother and her friend said to me "ALL students have to do is studying hard". Of course I think so too. So, instead of me, my parent pay school expenses. I do not have to earn the expenses. I am able to go to university to study a lot. But I think now it is time to be independent to some extent! This is most important study for the university students. Through the part-time job, for the purpose of doing or going on what I want to do, play, club activity, we have to work, etc sometimes involved in some trouble. At last, we can get money. it is vital for us to have part-time job. Having part time job is filled with the elements of society, and we can get something to survive all by myself.

JEFL 10

I agree to this topic. I think that it is very important for college students to have a part time job. It is because I think being a college student means to take a step forward into a social life as an adult. Our parents may pay our school expenses. Yet we are already old enough to earn our$ own allowances. First of all, if you have any hobbies you would like to enjoy while you are in college, I think it is your will and responsibility to continue. Secondly, I think the period of college life is also a training time for us to go into the actual life of workings. And so we would learn what it is like to be working for a company or a shop. I also think it is important for us to experience the hard works to earn money. Lastly, while we are in college, we will naturally get to the age of twenty when we are treated as an adult person by the society and become legally adult. After then we will be able to smoke, drink, and gamble and so on. But we are at the same time expected to be responsible about our life, living and thoughts. A good example for this would be the public elections

we do to participate in governmental deals. And the other example is when you commit a crime your full name will be announced. Therefore, I think that part time jobs during college life would be a good time for us to experience various things and also to learn various things we do not learn at school.

JEFL 11

I agree with this statement because college students will be able to have precious experiences through part-time jobs. I think that there are three advantages of working part-time. Firstly, students can come into contact with various people at a part-time job place. They can meet older persons. They will be showed many things which they do not know by seniors. Secondly, students can know the preciousness of money through part-time job. Probably they had used money without considering the value of money deeply when they had got money from their$ parents. But, they could understand the value of money or the difficulty of earning money only after working by themselves. Thirdly, students will learn important things when working. Through the part-time job, they will realize the importance of working efficiently or supporting each other. I also actually had a very good experience through working myself. I was working as a clerk in Italian restaurant from May last year to March this year. I received strict instruction about service from the chief of the restaurant. I was instructed a lot of things. It 's the courtesy which I studied most through work of the restaurant. I think that it is very useful to have mastered courtesy in future. Although I was sometimes scolded by chief, I think it was also valuable experience because I had no opportunity scolded by man other than parents until then. I was able to learn not only the courtesy but also the right language, the attitude toward work, and the importance of cooperating each other. I think that my experience of part-time job will be very useful for employment. So I agree that statement.

JEFL 12

I do not agree with the statement: it is important for college students to have a part-time job. I think, it's important for students who are interested in having one, but not for all college students. Indeed, having a job in one's early time can be a good experience for his/her full-time work after graduation or his/her dairy life by learning social rules and communicating with other people. But, for ones who do not direct to part-time jobs, including me, working can be worthless or even painful because part-time jobs are instable in situations, working places and colleagues, on part-time job students can earn less money in contrast to his/her contribution, and at the largest point, students are fully busy in college lives. Many college students must do homework and come to university for a long way. They are also expected to

do extra studies before and after lectures. So they have a little time to spend freely. A part-time job spends his/her precious time. In fact, I have only 9 lectures a week now, including 4 lectures with homework, but I have time for my hobby only on Saturday and Sunday. Even then, of course, I have to study so that the length of the free time depends on the contents of the lectures and homework. Certainly there are students who have some time and students who are attracted in working on part-time jobs. People like them will have a good time with their$ colleagues and customers, a pleasant of earning money, and so on. I do not deny the people getting them with their own wills. But I think it's not good to force all college students to get part-time jobs, telling that they must be good for them. Weather having a job or not should be decided by students' own.

JEFL 13

I agree with the statement that it is important for college students to have a part-time job. I have a two reason for this. First, they can know how to make money in society. If they do not have a part-time job, they get some money from their family. This situation is not good. College students will work and make money after having graduated. Then, they should know to work. In addition, it is the burden on their family that they are given money by their family. Their family pays a lot of money for them. Ever they could not make money, but they can do now. They should earn money to use their selves. Second, they can search their lifework or work in the place that they want to work. Especially, people who have a dream of working at specific place, such as a TV station, a company of news or company of creating animation should have a part-time job. It is important for them to have experience to work there, because they can actually know the real job, what to do and how to do. And people who do not think their lifework have a chance to think working or future. So I think it is important for college students to have a part-time job. But I also consider that they should study well.

JEFL 14

I agree with this opinion. Because I think that a part-time job tells us many important things, for example, formal actions, manners, communication ability, and relationships with many people. One month ago, I started a part-time job. I wash a lot of dishes and take some drinks and delicious foods at sushi restaurant. Sometimes, there are some high-ranked persons such as a boss of a big company, a famous baseball player, or a doctor of a big hospital in this restaurant. So, I must take formal actions for them. But there are no manuals, and I have to consider how I take for them. In this sushi restaurant, there are five college students to work as a part-timer. They are second or third grad, so, we can be friends easily. Especially,

one girl is my classmate and my friend since last year. Several times, we went to the sushi restaurant together. Because she has worked at this restaurant since last year, she teaches me many works and rules. Through this part-time job, we make good friendship. I think that a part-time job tells us many important things, and I think that it can make us a good person, too. We are student now. But about three years later, we will be workers in social world. I think that I have not prepared to be a worker yet, but now is a chance to prepare. A part-time job is very important for us. It tells us many important things. So, I think it is important for college students to have a part-time job.

JEFL 15

I think it is important for college students to have a part time job. We have a lot of events in college life. For example club activity and drinking party. So we must make money. Until we are high school students, we get money by our parents. But college students are nearly adult or truly adult. So we should have a part time job to make money by ourselves. But then some people may say that college students should not spend their time to do a part time job, they should spend the time to study. I think that the idea is not wrong. It may be best if we can do. But it is very difficult to do such. In fact I have some friends who do not have a part time job. They do not study hard and they get money to enjoy various events by their parents. I do not like such a way very much. I think that students who have a part time job can finish their homework earlier than who do not have it do. The students who do not have it may think that they have a lot of time, so they can do homework anytime. Due to that, their start to do homework may be late. And I think it is also important for us to experience a part time job. I think study, club activity, part time jobs etc all things are a part of college life.

JEFL 16

I agree with the opinion. For one reason, college students should experience earning money for themselves during their campus life. It is very important for them to realize how hard to get money because students these days are too dependent on their parents without any appreciation. They should appreciate that they can go to college. Actually, I started to live alone near my college and to do a part-time job. It is very hard work and I realized how hard it was to work for a living. I think every students had better realize it and it will be very good experience when they get jobs after their graduation. For another reason, they can broaden their views. If students do not belong to any club activities, their community must be very narrow. People they will encounter should be limited. Thorough part-time jobs, they can come across various people and exchange many opinions. Such encounters are very

important for their future. Almost all of college students these days have no ideas what they want to be in the future. Therefore, it is also very good experience to seek their dreams. Campus life is only 4 years, but we are allowed to be free no less than 4 years!! Time is very precious, so we must not spoil our time. Part-time jobs are one of experiences that you can do only while you are young. Thus, I agree that opinion.

JEFL 17

I agree this idea that it is important for college students to have a part-time job. There are three reasons. Firstly, it is because that it is good chance for college students to take part in job until they graduates from college and have a full-time job. This experience is useful to find their full-time job. In addition, they really understand that it is difficult and important to get money. They thank their parents and begin to spend money more carefully. Some people say that college students should study and join a club activity. However, college students can get important things from not only studies but also a part-time job. Secondly, it is because that college students can earn their tuition if they work as a part-timer. They are able to help their parents because tuition of college is high. In addition, college students can save money for some goals. In fact, a friend of mine works as a part-timer and save money in order to study abroad after she graduates from college. I can not think that she wastes time and her$ energy. Finaly, college students can meet and communicate with a lot of people. Talking with many people is quite meaningful for college students. They can get very important things from it. Also, it will be useful for them in the future. For these three reasons, I think that college students should have a part-time job.

JEFL 18

I agree that it is important for college students to have a part-time job. There are two reasons to agree with this idea. One is that part-time job is good experiences for college students. Second is that money is important to do what college students want to do. Firstly, I will explain why part-time job is good experiences for college students. They can learn many things by having a part-time job. For example, I work as a tutor. I learn how important it is to communicate with others, to greet each other, how hard it is to teach something and to get money. I think that what I learn from a part-time job is very useful in my life. If college students do not have a part-time job, they cannot realize how hard it is to work, until they have real job. Therefore they worry about their jobs and they might quit their jobs. Secondly, I will explain why money is important to do what college students want to do. In this world, we need money to do something. By the way, how can college students get money, if they do not have a part-time job? Maybe, their families give them

money, but they are not children yet, so they should get money to do something by themselves. For example, I want to enter a graduate school, so I need much money to enter. Therefore I have a part-time job and work very hard to save money. That 's why I agree that it is important for college students to have a part-time job.

JEFL 19

I agree that it is important for college students to have a part-time job. There are three reasons why I agree. First, you can get money. In college school life, you need much money to buy books, go shopping with friends, drink with members of club activity, and so on. So if you have a part-time job, you can use money as you want. As for me, I have a part-time job for the trip to meet my host family in Canada with a friend of mine. Second, you can make new human relations. There are many generations in a work place. For example, owner, a person who is a housewife and a person who belongs to other college. If you do not have a part-time job, you make friends in only your university. And last, you can grow larger as a member of society. When you were child, you were protected enough. But as you grow up, you have to manage yourself. So you can learn many things through a part-time job. For example, a friend of mine works at cram school. She seems to be busy preparing for her class. But she always says that she can have a responsible for her students and learn many things from them. Thus, there are many advantages about having a part-time job. In order to make your school life more beneficial, you should have a part-time job.

JEFL 20

I think that it is important for college students to do part-time jobs. First this is because they have to spend much money for playing, traveling, club activities and so on. If they do not spend money for playing, they will need a lot of money for commuting to university. If you were a high school student, your parents would pay the cost when you want to buy something. But college students should not depend on their parents so much, and they should try to lead independent lives. Of course, I do not insist that it is bad for them to receive economical supports from their parents. I just want to say that it is important for them to earn money, even if the salary is low. Second this is because they can not waste their own salary. They can learn how difficult people earn money by doing part-time jobs. So when they spend money, they think carefully whether the cost is proper or not. The difficulty of earning money prevent them from wasting money. Third this is because doing part-time jobs is the practice to be a respectable member of society. They will understand the rule of the society while they are working. college students are

generally regarded as adults. So they have to contribute to the society. Doing part-time jobs is the large part of college students duty. In order to enjoy the college life they have to work hard.

JEFL 21

I agree with this statement. Because I think that I did grow up through my part-time job. My part-time job is to contact with other people. So I must explain the content of the contact to many people very clearly, shortly and briefly. And it is out of the question to say non-collect things. For the first time, I found the importance and responsibility to what I say. And I also learned the difficulty of making myself understood, and I always need to think if what I try to explain to others is what they want to know truly. Or I have to reform what I want to say to what ordinary people understand easily and comprehend other's saying exactly Unless I cannot, they do not get good explains they want, so they do not think they want to contact with me. Of course, at first, I could not do it perfectly, but now I can sometimes others and I also cannot understand what I say Thus, I believe that I learned many things from my part-time job, and my work-team 's other staffs who help, advise and teach me. These experiences will help me in the future when I actually work as an office worker. So I think it is important for college students to have a part-time job. But needless to say that it is not good to consider doing part-time job is much more important than study!

JEFL 22

Today, I want to talk about this topic as the affirmative side. First of all, what is the part-time job for the college students? I think it 's the good opportunity to touch our society before we go out the society. From that, they can get the skill for example, communication with their customer, cooking, or how to teach something to someone and so on. Moreover we can actually feel social situation, and know the significance of earning money. However some people said that students have to work hard and late, and the environment in their workplace sometimes bad, for example smoking, drinking or something like that. So they disagree this topic because the part-time job will be obstacle for students to study. Surely the main thing for the college students is studying in their college days. I admit this point. But I believe it does not mean all students have to do is only such thing. After the graduation and going out the society, we need not only knowledge we can get in universities but also other skill. Only knowledge it's not enough. When you work in your company, you must negotiate with your clients, and keep the good relationship with your colleague. Such skill can not get from only universities. If we can get the basis of such skills during universities we can quickly fit our society when we start

working. So to compare advantages and disadvantages, I believe the part-time job is important for college students as the preparation for working actually in our society.

APPENDIX C

NES CORPUS

NES 1

It is very important for college students to have a part time job. A large number of college students, myself included, have their college tuition paid for by their parents and so it is important to learn how to make money on your own so you can learn the value of money and have a little bit of spending money. Also, having a part-time job in college is an easy way to get used to working as everyone will have to find a fulltime job after they graduate. A part-time job can teach you to be responsible, help you make new friends, and help you meet people to network with. Everyone knows it's not what you know but who you know, and so getting started early by finding a part-time job in college is a great way to insure that you'll have some people to talk to after you graduate and are looking for a real job or a real career. I think the most important reason they have a part-time job is so that you can learn the value of money and you can understand how big of a burden your parents have to put you through school. College is expensive, and if you can learn the value of money, you can be well on your way to becoming a successful graduate.

NES 2

Having a part-time job is one of the best things college students do to help prepare themselves for their futures. It is well known that students to graduate from college with no work experience have an extremely tough time finding employment, and along with this, the employment which they can find is not as lucrative or as engaging as a work that can be found if they only had some work experience. Almost everyone in the world will have to work at some point in their lives, so why not get started as early as possible. I do think that college students should focus most of their time on learning, but it is very easy to find a place that will allow you to work with a flexible schedule so that you can stay focused on your studies. Furthermore, if you're like me and have been going to school for a long time or are pursuing an advanced degree, you will inevitably have to work in order to make enough money to live and eat. Except for a few rare cases of kids that have extremely wealthy parents, most students will need to work in order to support either their living situation or their entertainment.

NES 3

I think that most people would agree that having a part-time job is a good option for a student. I've had a part-time job since my first semester of college and I have learned a lot from working there. Most of my friends complain that they do not want to find any part time job because they are already very busy with their

schoolwork and their social lives. It is true that having a part-time job sometimes makes it difficult to find time to do everything that you want or need to do, but putting yourself in situations in which you're a little bit uncomfortable is one of the best ways to grow and become stronger as a person, student, and an employee. What's more, by having a part-time job I can make enough money to fund all of my personal expenses such as food, rent, and entertainment. The fact of the matter is that my friends who do not have money cannot have as much fun as I have or have as much freedom as I have. It sometimes seems sad, but money really is power. If you have a part-time job, you can make money, you can gain skills, and you can make professional contacts.

NES 4

For the majority of college students, a part-time job is an important part of the college experience. This is because they can meet a variety of new people with a variety of new opinions and ideas. Having a part-time job allows you to meet people you might never have met if you do not have one. For example, I work in the call center at the university, and a lot of the people I've met there are not from the United States. It is extremely interesting to talk to people who are not from the same country as you because they have a very different culture and a very different way of thinking. If I never had a part-time job like this, I would never have made these friends and I would not have had the opportunity to learn about all these different ways of thinking. The only problem is that sometimes I feel very stressed with school and work and I feel like I don't have enough time to do everything I need to do. However, it is very nice to make a little bit of extra money for going out on the weekends and having a good time with your friends.

NES 5

Having a part-time job in college is absolutely an excellent idea for the majority of college students. Some students have very difficult majors which will require them to be more committed with their time in their focus but many others including myself can easily arrange our time to balance both the requirements of a part-time job and the requirements of attending school. For example, I work as a cashier at the campus convenience store, and the best part of this job is that when there are no customers we can study as much as we want to. In addition, I have made many new friends by working here at the convenience store. Many people say that students already have a job: their job is to go to school and get good grades. But I also think that there are some things that simply cannot be learned purely by studying in a classroom environment. For example, no matter how much studying you do you

can never learn how hard it is to make money and once you have job you can learn this. What's more, having a part-time job looks great on your resume and can help you to find another part time job if you should need to do so.

NES 6

I think that all college students should have a part-time job because it is the easiest way to make enough money to go out on the weekends. College is a very important time for making connections with other people, making new friends, and expanding your professional network, so it is extremely important to spend enough time being social so that you can experience the benefits of knowing a wide variety of people. Having a part-time job also allows you to appear more responsible to adults, and they will respect what you are saying more if you show them that you understand at least a little bit about the real world. Also, you can make your parents proud by having a part-time job and showing them that you have learned what money is really worth. Some people think that college students should not have a part-time job because it will interfere with their studying habits, but I think that if anything, having a part-time job can help you focus your self and motivate you to be more effective when you study. In conclusion, having a part-time job in college is very important for college students and can benefit them in many ways.

NES 7

Many college students enjoy having a part-time job, but many college students also feel that they have enough work in their classes that they will not be able to balance the demands upon their time that having a part time job would impose. Thus, it is really not a question of whether all college students should have a part-time job or whether no college student should have a part-time job but rather a question of the appropriateness of a part time job given a specific student's situation. Students who feel that they have enough time to have a part-time job are good candidates for work study programs and can make a little bit of money as well. Students who do not feel that they have enough time for part-time jobs should just focus on their studies and not allow themselves to be distracted. This is the best solution for everyone and it allows the students decide for themselves whether are not they would like a part-time job. Another benefit is that if someone makes the wrong decision, they always have the choice of undoing that decision since part-time jobs in college are not that serious. For these reasons, a student should really decide for himself or for herself if a part-time job is appropriate.

NES 8

I think it is very important for college students to have a part-time job because it allows them to give back in some small way to the college community while at the same time receiving compensation for their services. Too many people these days think only of what they can take a nothing of what they can give. As John F. Kennedy once said, "Ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country. " The same idea applies to schools, and student should be active members of the college community in order to be successful community members. Next, a part-time job is a great way for students to take a break from studying. Some students will simply study until their brains hurt, and at that time, if you have a part-time job that is not too mentally taxing, you can go to work and let your brain unwind before you return to your studies. This assumes that the student can find a part-time job that will not take away too much of their time. I think the ideal of numbers of hours a week that a student should work is somewhere around 10 hours. This is not too much of a time commitment and even in the busiest weeks of the semester, the student should be able to find a way to schedule enough time for their school, work, and social activities.

NES 9

If we can take part-time jobs to be internships, I think that they are a varied necessary and important part of the college experience. I major in engineering, and for me, it will be almost impossible to get a good job when I finish my degree if I do not have some previous work experience. For other students with technical majors, I think the case is similar, and they should find some way to incorporate part-time work into their curriculum because it will definitely improve their prospects of employment when they go about seeking a full time position. However, I don't think that a student should waste their time doing part-time work at restaurants or other places where the experience they gain is not applicable to their overall goals. This is just a quick way to make money and a way to kill time, and students are doing themselves a disservice by engaging in this kind of activity. Continuing along this line of thought also reveals that the students who take part time jobs at restaurants and other places may suffer the unfortunate fate of having to work there much longer than they want to, whereas students who pursue different kinds of employment are putting themselves in a position to develop their careers.

NES 10

The benefits of having a part-time job far outweigh any consequences on studies that having a part-time job may have. Many adults are worried about whether having a part-time job will negatively impact the performance in school of their

children, but I think that most children nowadays are good enough at multitasking to be able to handle the stresses and demands of more than simply one primarily use of their time. Having a part-time job in college has taught me how to be a good employee of a company as well as have to be more professional in interacting with other people whose ideas I do not always agree with. I have found out that you do not necessarily have to like someone in order to be able to work with them, and I think it is a good thing if other students can figure out this lesson as well so that they don't simply spend all their time doing any group work that arises with just their friends. I am also to make a small amount of money, but it is enough to have fun on the weekends as well as help my parents pay for some of my school expenses every semester. I feel very proud and very responsible to be able to contribute like this.

NES 11

I wish that I had enough time to have a part-time job, but I am way too busy with my schoolwork to even think about getting started in something that would only drain my time and detract from the intense focus which is required for my studies. I am an MCDB major, so I think I have a lot more homework than other kids on campus. A lot of my friends have part-time jobs and they seem to enjoy them quite a lot, and it really makes me feel bad that I have so much work that I cannot even have just a few hours per week to make a little bit of money and have a little bit of fun. Hopefully, after I graduate from college, I can find a very good job, but I am also worried that with no work experience I really might have my work cut out for me, no pun intended. The economy is pretty bad right now everywhere in the world, so it may be difficult for the current generation of college graduates to find employment after their graduations. Therefore, I think that college student should have a part-time job in order to help them gain experience which will help them later.

NES 12

I think part-time work is important for college students. This is because I myself have a part-time job, and I think that it is helping me a lot. Before I came to college, I had no work experience, but now that I've been a college for a while, I have gained enough experience to consider myself ready to enter the business world when I graduate from school next year. I have pursued internships every summer since I was a freshman, and through these internships I have gained quite a variety of skills. My first summer, I worked as an IT assistant at a local computer store, and the next summer, I was part of the university's IT and security team. The following summer, I continued my position at the university, and I believe I will do so the coming summer as well. From all of these experiences, my eye key skills have

become very well developed, and IT is a big business these days, so I feel that I have done a good job in getting myself into a position where it will be easy to acquire a full time job after I graduate. So, other students would be benefited by following this kind of idea, and I therefore think it is important for college students to have a part-time job.

NES 13

Part-time work is of course very important for any college student. It is especially important for college students who need help paying for their tuition. In many cases, it is not fair to allow parents to be forced to shoulder the entire cost of their child's education. A responsible and mature college student can learn to understand the value of money and will grow to have a greater appreciation for the enormous expense of college if they choose to work part-time. I think that their parents would be quite pleased to have the added help even if only as a gesture. Also, college students can learn many new skills at part-time jobs such as how to follow directions and how to deal with customers. Customer service is one of the largest industries in the world, and the skills that you can gain in many common part-time jobs will be applicable to any other customer service situation. It is also good for college students to learn the importance of time management and how to conduct it effectively. Without a doubt, any student who can find the time to effectively handle a part-time job should do so because it will provide them many benefits that will extend far into their future.

NES 14

A part-time job is a great way for any student to expand their skill set. This is an important part of developing as a college student anyway, so I think is a great idea for any college student to have a part-time job. Part-time work can teach are many lessons that you would never have the chance to learn if you spend all your time just doing the assigned class work. For instance, although a busy college class schedule can teach time management, there is nothing like the demands of several different activities to really hot new skills. Also, students can gain an appreciation for financial management and they can learn about what it really means to be a working adult in the modern society. I know that when I first entered college, I was somewhat immature, in my first part-time job taught me a lot about responsibility in what it means to be an adult. I would never have been able to stay in school pursuing an advanced degree if I have not learned how to work hard and manage myself effectively. Last, the money that students can gain from a part-time job is usually enough to cover any personal expenses that may have.

NES 15

A part-time job is a good part of becoming a successful career oriented woman. I currently have a part-time job in a local salon, and even though this part-time job is not really related to my major, I feel like I am learning good things that I can apply in the real world when I graduate and start to look for a real career. For example, I have learned how to deal with a variety of kinds of people as customers. Some people do not understand what it is like to be a customer service position, and they do not treat you very well, but you still have to be nice and smile at them and be polite. On the other hand, there are many people who have had a customer service position who understand the difficulties as well as the perks, and they are truly a pleasure to deal with because they will treat you very well and not give you a hard time. Lastly, working at a part-time job teaches you a lot about money because not only do you have to manage your own money, you can see how other people have to manage theirs as well so that they can pay for haircuts and other salon treatments.

NES 16

A part-time job can have a lot of great benefits for all college students, so all college students should have a part-time job. I work at a small local restaurant, and I have learned a lot there which I probably could not have learned if I had only gone to school. For instance, I have learned how to cook a variety of foods, and I have also learned how to interact with customers in a professional and polite way. Furthermore, I have learned how to take inventory and make orders for new products as we need them. In the world and management is a very important skill that can help me if I ever decide to pursue more work in the restaurant industry. Also, students who have part-time jobs appear more responsible than their counterparts who do not. My parents often praise me for being so responsible and for finding a part-time job so I can learn how to be an adult, as they say, and it feels good to know I am doing something that makes them proud. If other parents would like their children to work part-time too, they have the right to do so as to parents. Hopefully, they also take into consideration the very unique circumstances surrounding any one person on this beautiful earth.

NES 17

It is very important for college students to have a part-time job. By having a part-time job, college students can learn to be more responsible. Also, by having a part-time job, college students can explore their interests and work on things that interest them. Part-time work can help students to find out what they might want to do later in life and where they might want to work at a full time position. As long as the students are not working too much every week, they can enjoy all of these

benefits without the bad things that would happen if they worked too much. It is very important to maintain balance in your life, and too much work and school will only stress you out and detract from your overall health. Finally, many of us college students want to enjoy some of the pleasures that having a disposable income may bring such as going out to eat with friends or going out at night on the weekends. Also, many of us want to save up some money for future things like vacations or moving out of our current apartments to a better apartment. Money cannot buy happiness, but it can give your freedom, and freedom often brings with it happiness.

NES 18

I think is appropriate for most college students to have a part-time job and it is also very important for them to do so. One reason I think this is because I have been working at a part-time job for most of my college career. A part-time job has allowed me to make many connections which helped me in usually unexpected ways, and sometimes I feel very lucky, but I also realize that all the hard work I do is really what has helped me get so far. Next, other students, your professors, and your parents will respect you more if you try to have a part-time job because it shows that you are responsible and know enough about the world to be mature and try to make some money for yourself and do something for yourself. However, I do not think it is a good idea for students that do not have enough time to find part-time work because the grades will definitely suffer if they tried to put too many things into their schedules. The small amount of money you can make at a part-time job is not worth sacrificing your performance in classes, as any advanced degree student will tell you. In conclusion, college students should have a part-time job if they think they can manage the stresses they many encounter.

NES 19

Although many college students may find a variety of benefits in part-time work, I think that overall, college student should not have to have a part-time job and it is not that important for them. This is because most students have come to college to pursue their dream to get a college degree. Part-time work usually gets in the way of that, and most of my friends who have part-time jobs are always complaining about how stressed out they feel from work and how they feel that they have no time to do everything they want to do. Also, I very much value my social life, and if I work, I feel that I will only be able to find time to do school and work if I have no life. This is a bad image to have, and I do not want to have it, so I choose not to have a part-time job. If there are other college students like me who feel that there are other

things that are more important than working, then it is obvious that it is not that important for college students to have a part-time job. Only the students who need to make money to help pay for their tuition should have a part-time job.

NES 20

University in many countries is considered a place to unwind. It represents the time between legal adulthood and the beginning of a long working life, full of stress and difficulty. Therefore, what better time to cut loose than college, where all that matters is going to lectures and occasionally taking tests or writing papers? Why else would respectable establishments such as the Princeton Review publish lists of the top party schools in the United States? The logic behind these questions lead directly to the conclusion that it is nearly imperative that college students hold a part-time job for at least six months of college, if not for its entirety. Much as university admission officers evaluate extracurricular activities as an important part of a prospective student's application, HR personnel also evaluate job applicants based on their drive and commitment outside of the lecture hall. Working a part-time job consistently through college gives an applicant a measured edge over others without such experience who may well have spent their time drinking and partying instead of being productive. Having a part-time job also teaches time management skills and gives a student more room to breathe financially. This kind of responsibility developed over time makes for a happy hiring official. It is important to note however that there are other ways of impressing HR personnel, including internships, leadership in university organizations, and volunteer work. However, a part-time job builds both your resume and your income, and should be considered an essential part of a university education.

NES 21

All college students should have a part-time job. There are many excellent reasons to join the work force while still attending school. For some students, the extra money will assist them in obtaining needed books and materials for study. Others will benefit from the discipline and time-management skills gained in balancing a study schedule with a semi-regular work regimen. Students who spend time away from the oppressive, thought-controlling atmosphere of most large universities will meet people accustomed to living and thinking in freedom. It can come as a welcome shock to the cloistered student to learn such a fascinating world exists, where the recommended norms of contemporary university thought patterns not only do not apply, they are mocked as absurd. As well, occupying oneself with an outside activity such as work restricts the amount of time available to fall in with bad company or develop social habits deleterious to academic achievement. Said

activities include extended periods of video game playing during school hours, lounging on one's sofa watching daytime television, indulging in repeated bouts of binge drinking with equally dissolute friends, and an obsessive devotion to online fleshpots promising sexual release in exchange for money. The individual whose day is split between class and workplace has no opportunity to sample temptation. It therefore behooves all students to arrange for part-time employment as soon as possible. The alternative does not bear mentioning.

NES 22

College is a transitional time from dependence to independence for most people in modern society. I think it is important for college students to have a part time job, and I shall support my claim with three points. Firstly, on the domestic front, a young person generally leaves the security of the family unit at this time in his life and begins to strike out on his own. Part time work during a course-load at college will begin to encourage thoughts of pecuniary insight and financial responsibility. Secondly, a college student needs to be able to afford school supplies, and to be able to support his changing interests, be they hobbies, extra-curricular activities, or simply entertainment. Finally, as he begins to assert his independence, a college student will likely begin to explore thoughts of starting his own family. Whether or not he will actually go so far as to do so of course will vary from person to person. However, dating, courting and generally meeting viable people with whom to explore these possibilities will likely manifest themselves during this transitional time. Independent means of supporting these activities is essential in order to become a responsible, contributing member of society. For the reasons stated above, I believe that a college student needs the experience of part-time work.

Appendix D

To view the RST tree diagrams of the JEFL texts, go to the link below or contact the author directly at brownj@hosei.ac.jp

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1FKgvuaFCaQTmh4Xb7Eji6asbKrwZryE7/view?usp=sharing

Appendix E

To view the RST tree diagrams of the NES texts, go to the link below or contact the author directly at brownj@hosei.ac.jp

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1eCd9aJTfdPrkZbqzUlg5UvuSSOgvrdry?usp=sharing

Appendix F

To view the Japanese text questionnaire, go to the link below or contact the author directly at brownj@hosei.ac.jp

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1qJJRrOdcyiGdFrluQmv7iP8Wv9_eppdP?usp=sharing

CURRICULUM VITAE

Jonathan David Brown was born on the 28th of September 1984 in Arlington, Texas in the United States of America. For his undergraduate studies, he attended Southwestern A/G University, a small liberal arts university just outside of Dallas, Texas. After graduating, he moved to Japan and taught English for several years before enrolling as a graduate student at Northern Arizona University where he received a Master's degree in English with an emphasis in literacy, technology, and professional writing. Following his Master's program, he took a faculty position at Toyo University in Tokyo, Japan and in September 2014 was accepted into Leiden University's Centre for Linguistics (LUCL) as an external PhD candidate. The following year, he joined Yamanashi Gakuin University in Kofu, Japan where he taught English for several years while conducting the research on which this dissertation is based. Jonathan David Brown is currently an associate professor of English and Linguistics in the Faculty of Social Sciences at Hosei University in Tokyo, Japan.